

INCORPORATES
WAR
COMMENTARY

FREEDOM *through Anarchism*

Vol. 7, No. 17.

15th JUNE, 1946.

GERMAN WORKERS & OUR

1919: REPARATIONS RUIN BRITISH WORKERS

AFTER the war of 1914, the allies removed from Germany, by way of reparations, a very large proportion of her movable capital in the shape of cattle, railway rolling-stock, and the merchant fleet. The appropriation of liners such as the *Berengaria*—the one-time *Vaterland*—and of thousands of smaller fishing and commercial craft may have been a very profitable addition to the capital of Allied Shipping Companies. It certainly bore out the contention of those socialists and Anarchists who had opposed the war on the grounds that it was solely a conflict for economic aggrandisement on the part of the two bloes of belligerent powers. But it also bore out their contention that the workers in any country have no interest, have nothing to gain, from the mutual struggles of their capitalist owning classes. For the removal of the German merchant shipping fleet resulted in the most catastrophic slump in British shipbuilding yards, from which they never recovered between the wars. Thousands of shipbuilding workers on the Tyne and Clyde were permanently thrown out of the work in which they possessed special skill, because the shipping companies had secured the vessels they needed by robbing Germany instead of giving the job—and therefore the wage—to workers in British shipbuilding industry. Thus for a very large section of British workers, the war brought permanent loss of work.

merely the appalling conditions of hunger which the ration cuts have faced all Germans with, but also the determined efforts of their vanquishers to destroy their hopes of economic survival under capitalism. The shop stewards of the metal factories at Kiel have warned the British authorities that they will not be responsible for the repercussions of these demolitions, which are "depriving our town of all chances of economic survival. The shop stewards of the Kiel metal industry protest against the senseless destruction of workshops that can serve as the basis for our peaceful work and for the re-building of our town."

The *Observer* makes the comment: "It is very difficult, indeed, to find any sense in such demolitions—they have a touch of Luddite fury about them." But the unfortunate thing is that under the laws of capitalist economics they are the very reverse of senseless—just as the Luddite machine-breaking towards the end of the Napoleonic wars were. For the Potsdam signatories are only trying to secure themselves in the diminishing world markets by eliminating their competitors. In the same way, the Luddites, faced with economic extinction from the new machines with their vast output of "shoddy", sought to safeguard themselves and their jobs by smashing up such machines.

RUINED WORKERS ANYWHERE MEANS LOW WAGES EVERYWHERE

It may be said that British workers have no



1919: REPARATIONS RUIN BRITISH WORKERS

AFTER the war of 1914, the allies removed from Germany, by way of reparations, a very large proportion of her movable capital in the shape of cattle, railway rolling-stock, and the merchant fleet. The appropriation of liners such as the *Berengaria*—the one-time *Vaterland*—and of thousands of smaller fishing and commercial craft may have been a very profitable addition to the capital of Allied Shipping Companies. It certainly bore out the contention of those socialists and Anarchists who had opposed the war on the grounds that it was solely a conflict for economic aggrandisement on the part of the two blocs of belligerent powers. But it also bore out their contention that the workers in any country have no interest, have nothing to gain, from the mutual struggles of their capitalist owning classes. For the removal of the German merchant shipping fleet resulted in the most catastrophic slump in British shipbuilding yards, from which they never recovered between the wars. Thousands of shipbuilding workers on the Tyne and Clyde were permanently thrown out of the work in which they possessed special skill, because the shipping companies had secured the vessels they needed by robbing Germany instead of giving the job—and therefore the wage—to workers in British shipbuilding industry. Thus for a very large section of British workers, the war brought permanent loss of work.

1946: GERMAN WORKERS THIS TIME

The purpose of war, among other things, is to eliminate the competition formerly offered by the defeated power. Removal of their capital is one way to do this; with the results we have just described. This time, the Allies are employing another method, that of destroying German plant instead of appropriating the finished products. From the point of view of the internationally minded worker, the upshot is the same, for workers will be put out of a job permanently by such action. Only it will be German shipbuilding workers this time instead of Tynesiders. Once again, the anti-militarists contention that "whoever wins, the workers lose" finds confirmation.

The *Observer* (9/6/46) reports that:

"German harbour towns are living through days of anxiety and panic. Their inhabitants listen tensely to the sounds of explosions in the dockyards and wharves. In Kiel, Hamburg, and Lubeck demolition squads of the occupying Army have blown up harbour installations, shipbuilding yards, warships, and so on.

The Potsdam decision that Germany shall possess no ocean-going ships, and no facilities for building them, was apparently still being carried out quite recently. The great dockyards of Blohm and Voss in Hamburg have been dismantled. In addition, a number of fishing cutters are also reported to have been blown up—28 of them at Trave-

merely the appalling conditions of hunger which the ration cuts have faced all Germans with, but also the determined efforts of their vanquishers to destroy their hopes of economic survival under capitalism. The shop stewards of the metal factories at Kiel have warned the British authorities that they will not be responsible for the repercussions of these demolitions, which are "depriving our town of all chances of economic survival. The shop stewards of the Kiel metal industry protest against the senseless destruction of workshops that can serve as the basis for our peaceful work and for the re-building of our town."

The *Observer* makes the comment: "It is very difficult, indeed, to find any sense in such demolitions—they have a touch of Luddite fury about them." But the unfortunate thing is that under the laws of capitalist economics they are the very reverse of senseless—just as the Luddite machine-breaking towards the end of the Napoleonic wars were. For the Potsdam signatories are only trying to secure themselves in the diminishing world markets by eliminating their competitors. In the same way, the Luddites, faced with economic extinction from the new machines with their vast output of "shoddy", sought to safeguard themselves and their jobs by smashing up such machines.

RUINED WORKERS ANYWHERE MEANS LOW WAGES EVERYWHERE

It may be said that British workers have no concern for the position of German workers in Kiel and Hamburg. Trade Union Leaders will doubtless come forward and say that the German workers "failed to demonstrate any hostility to the Hitler regime", etc., etc., Trade Union leaders easily forget the Nazi concentration camps—except when they come in handy for fostering nationalism and hatred for the German people. Common humanity is revolted by such chauvinist chatter. But there are sound economic reasons why workers should not willingly permit the economic degradation of their fellows abroad. Capital is international, even if working class solidarity and Trade Union highups lag behind the bosses in this respect. If industries are ruined in such towns as Hamburg, wages in such areas immediately fall; and this means that labour becomes cheap. Any developing industry therefore, other things being equal, will tend to gravitate towards such areas, because low wages means diminished costs, and hence better advantage for competing in the steadily diminishing markets of capitalism. It was because labour was cheap in India and Japan that these areas stole the "prosperity" of Lancashire (for one has to regard the miserably low wages of the Lancashire cotton operative as "prosperous" compared with unemployment). Had it not been for the cheap labour, capital in cotton would not have gravitated to the East, leaving the shell of a cotton industry and an army of workless as a monument to the heyday of cotton in Lancashire.



wages after capitalist prosperity, and of capital after cheap labour, lowered costs, ever more needle-like competition! An endless fight of constant struggle, constant vigilance presents a grim outlook for the conscious workers; but it is a true picture of capitalist reality. Such a picture is too grim to be accepted as the permanent lot of the world's

peoples; some alternative must be sought. But only one alternative presents itself—the ending of the wages system altogether. The destruction of that system which ties production and therefore wages to a fluctuating market, which must always be diminishing because purchasing power is remorselessly linked with wages in a vicious and contracting spiral.

Letter from France

Food Dominates Poli

The Potsdam decision that Germany shall possess no ocean-going ships, and no facilities for building them, was apparently still being carried out quite recently. The great dockyards of Blohm and Voss in Hamburg have been dismantled. In addition, a number of fishing cutters are also reported to have been blown up—28 of them at Travemünde. The same happened to some electrical installations and other non-military objects. The leaders of the Social Democratic Party in the British zone have made an urgent appeal to the British authorities to stop the demolitions."

Workers in Hamburg recently resorted to hunger riots and had to be put down by the occupying police. It is clear that they were driven to utter despair when they saw, not

ity of Lancashire (for one has to regard the miserably low wages of the Lancashire cotton operative as "prosperous" compared with unemployment). Had it not been for the cheap labour, capital in cotton would not have gravitated to the East, leaving the shell of a cotton industry and an army of workless as a monument to the heyday of cotton in Lancashire.

The fact has to be firmly grasped that indifference to foreign workers wage conditions ultimately comes back on oneself. Sympathy for the misery of depression thus goes hand in hand with self-interest in the wage struggle.

THE ENDLESS STRUGGLE—OR THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION?

But once this fact is grasped, what a dreary vista is opened up! The endless chase of

UNO & FRANCO

During the whole of the Spanish Civil War, *Freedom's* forerunner, *Spain and the World*, never ceased to urge direct action on the part of the British working class against General Franco, and his supporters—tacit or openly expressed—in the British Government of the time. We pointed out then that pious resolutions by Labour leaders and the like, only staved off radical action, and so promoted that delay which was disastrous to the Spanish workers and a godsend to General Franco.

Recently we pointed out the dangers of official pronouncements (unaccompanied by working class action) "condemning" Franco's régime. We do not forget how the application of Sanctions provided just the stimulus to Italian nationalism which Mussolini sorely needed to bolster up his tottering régime. (Mussolini actually wrote to one of his diplomatic corps expressing the hope that Sanctions would be "applied" against him!). The same purely Nationalistic pressure by outside Governments against Franco, we declared, might well have the same disastrous effect—exactly the opposite of what was apparently intended. For Spaniards inside Spain have not the same touching faith in the good intentions of the Governments of the States which make up UNO.

Our forecasts seem to have been only too well justified; for the day after the UNO Sub-Committee on Spain issued its recommendations for breaking diplomatic relations with Franco, the Franco press in Spain widely publicized this decision. "All this morning's papers here," wrote the *News Chronicle's* Madrid correspondent, "made front-page news of the recommendation on Spain by the UNO Security Council's Sub-committee. *Instead of censoring such news, as they would formerly have done, Franco's propaganda chiefs consider such attacks helpful to the régime.*"

There can be little doubt that the diplomatic chiefs of UNO are aware of the likely reactions inside Spain of their actions. Whatever foreign Governments do will be regarded with hostile

distrust by Spanish workers. They will scarcely have forgotten Non-Intervention. To oppose these UNO gyrations is by no means opposing effective action against Franco. The dictatorship in Spain can only be overturned by the Spanish workers themselves. But before they embark on such a hazardous enterprise (especially since they will not willingly see repeated the bloodshed of 1936 to 1939) they will want some assurance that interferences from foreign governments will not occur again. And the only people who can give them that assurance are the workers in the countries known as "major powers". The Spanish working class can be relied upon to act when they see that their fellow workers abroad are ready to prevent any funny business on the part of their governments. They can scarcely be expected to act before they have that assurance.

Grimsby Trawler Men Out

The baneful operation of the price system is shown once again with monotonous repetition in the recent strike of Grimsby trawlermen. The men came out on strike against the prevailing practice of importing foreign caught fish, which thereby causes a glut on the market, a fall in prices and reduced earnings. Their indignation is not to be wondered at. Fishing is not devoid of danger, and at its best is hard and uncomfortable work. At any time it would be galling enough to land a catch, only to find it unsaleable because of a glut, however produced. The fishermen have shown in the past that they are fully aware that thousands of people in this country are permanently undernourished and badly need food such as herrings. But at the present moment, that large catches of fish should come to this country and destroy the prices of the Grimsby men's catch, instead of being sent to Germany and other con-

Letter from France

Food Dominates Politics

THE political situation in France is dominated, as it has been since last autumn, by the food question and by the fact that so far no Government has made any serious attempt to remedy the deficiencies of production and distribution by which the crisis has been brought about.

Before the war France was much nearer to self-sufficiency in food production than England, and only a very little reorganization of agriculture on scientific lines to provide for more intensive culture could easily have made up for the deficiency and ensured the French people an abundance of food grown from their own soil which would have made them free from the semi-starvation in which so many of them live to-day. But it is quite clear that no effort has been made towards such a reorganization. Even the grossly inadequate and clumsy methods used to increase food production in England during the war are far ahead of anything that has been done in France. Travelling through France from the north to the south-east, I was astonished at the poor cultivation of most of the country. Only in Alsace and in the market gardening area near Paris, (and in these areas it must be admitted), the peasants and maraichers had certainly made the best possible use of their land by intensive cultivation. But elsewhere culture seemed at a very low level. In the north, the Pas de Calais and Normandy, there are very large areas where pastures have been derelict from lack of drainage, and in the south-east, in such departments as Haut Saone, one

can travel for miles and see no sign of cultivation—only wide areas of neglected grassland on which a few scattered herds of cattle are grazing. In all places, with the exceptions mentioned, farming methods are very primitive, and fail to make the best use of what land is cultivated. Everywhere a great amount of labour is wasted through the lack of modern implements, and there is no doubt that the mechanization of agriculture would make a vast difference to the food production of France. In the French countryside tractors are extremely rare, and horses and oxen, men and women, provide almost all the power for working the land. With 200,000 tractors to speed up cultivation and to bring into fertility the great areas of derelict and untouched lands, with a co-operative organization among the peasants to make full use of such facilities to obtain high yields of foodstuffs, the crisis of production would be over.

But there remains a great disorganization of distribution which so far has not been solved. Generally speaking, in the country there is a sufficiency of most foods, and a superfluity of some. In the cities there is a scarcity of everything, except for those who are able to pay black market prices. In the case of some foods it is possible that there would in any case be a general scarcity until production is improved. In others however, such as potatoes wine and milk, the scarcity in the cities is completely unnecessary. Of all these products the peasants have an abundance: they are feeding their potatoes to the pigs, while in Paris the ration is only 2 kilos (less than 5 lbs.) a month!

It is partly due to transport difficulties. The damage to railways and roads during the allied air raids and the invasion is still very largely unrepaired, and this work is going on very slowly, in comparison with the energetic way in which the Dutch have handled this problem. (Owing to the retention of so many men in such socially useless work as the army, civil service and police, there is a shortage of workers for such essential reconstruction work as railway and housing).

But an even more important factor in the failure of distribution is the fact that the peasants are disinclined to sell at the low official price when they can get so much more in the black market. They themselves suffer from a scarcity of implements, manufactured goods, clothes, etc. for which they have to pay exorbitant prices, and consequently they are anxious to obtain the best prices they can for their products. The only solution of this problem would be for the peasants to be given freely all the manufactured products they need in return for their surplus food, which could then be distributed equitably among the people in the city. This would com-

tinental countries which desperately need it is altogether too much.

The fishermen get a flat rate of £4. 12. 9. with a percentage of the profit on catches. Recently they have had to be content with the flat rate.

The whole business of so-called gluts would be more supportable if the "excess" of fish became available at low prices to the population at large. As things are, the worst of all sides is shown to producer and consumer alike, the only advantage falling to the fishing industrialist. Fishermen cannot sell their catch, because prices are too low. Consumers do not get the advantage of the "excess" at feasible prices, because they are dumped in the sea in order to keep prices up. And "up" means beyond the reach of thousands of families who are exactly the ones who most need it.

FREEDOM

through Anarchism

DEMOCRACY
OR
DICTATORSHIP?

15th JUNE, 1946.

Fortnightly, 2d.

MAN WORKERS & OURSELVES

merely the appalling conditions of hunger which the ration cuts have faced all Germans with, but also the determined efforts of their vanquishers to destroy their hopes of economic survival under capitalism. The shop stewards of the metal factories at Kiel have warned the British authorities that they will not be responsible for the repercussions of these demolitions, which are "depriving our town of all chances of economic survival. The shop stewards of the Kiel metal industry protest against the senseless destruction of workshops that can serve as the basis for our peaceful work and for the re-building of our town."

The *Observer* makes the comment: "It is very difficult, indeed, to find any sense in such demolitions—they have a touch of Luddite fury about them." But the unfortunate thing is that under the laws of capitalist economies they are the very reverse of senseless—just as the Luddite machine-breaking towards the end of the Napoleonic wars were. For the Potsdam signatories are only trying to secure themselves in the diminishing world markets by eliminating their competitors. In the same way, the Luddites, faced with economic extinction from the new machines with their vast output of "shoddy", sought to safeguard themselves and their jobs by smashing up such machines.

**RUINED WORKERS ANYWHERE MEANS
LOW WAGES EVERYWHERE**

It may be said that British workers have no concern for the position of German workers



merely the appalling conditions of hunger which the ration cuts have faced all Germans with, but also the determined efforts of their vanquishers to destroy their hopes of economic survival under capitalism. The shop stewards of the metal factories at Kiel have warned the British authorities that they will not be responsible for the repercussions of these demolitions, which are "depriving our town of all chances of economic survival. The shop stewards of the Kiel metal industry protest against the senseless destruction of workshops that can serve as the basis for our peaceful work and for the re-building of our own."

The *Observer* makes the comment: "It is very difficult, indeed, to find any sense in such demolitions—they have a touch of Luddite fury about them." But the unfortunate thing is that under the laws of capitalist economics they are the very reverse of senseless—just as the Luddite machine-breaking towards the end of the Napoleonic wars were. For the Potsdam signatories are only trying to secure themselves in the diminishing world markets by eliminating their competitors. In the same way, the Luddites, faced with economic extinction from the new machines with their vast output of "shoddy", sought to safeguard themselves and their jobs by smashing up such machines.

RUINED WORKERS ANYWHERE MEANS LOW WAGES EVERYWHERE

It may be said that British workers have no concern for the position of German workers in Kiel and Hamburg. Trade Union Leaders will doubtless come forward and say that the German workers "failed to demonstrate any hostility to the Hitler regime", etc., etc., Trade Union leaders easily forget the Nazi concentration camps—except when they come in handy for fostering nationalism and hatred for the German people. Common humanity is revolted by such chauvinist chatter. But there are sound economic reasons why workers should not willingly permit the economic degradation of their fellows abroad. Capital is international, even if working class solidarity and Trade Union highups lag behind the bosses in this respect. If industries are ruined in such towns as Hamburg, wages in such areas immediately fall; and this means that labour becomes cheap. Any developing industry therefore, other things being equal, will tend to gravitate towards such areas, because low wages means diminished costs, and hence better advantage for competing in the tendily diminishing markets of capitalism. It was because labour was cheap in India and Japan that these areas stole the "prosperity" of Lancashire (for one has to regard the miserably low wages of the Lancashire cotton operative as "prosperous" compared with unemployment). Had it not been for the cheap labour, capital in cotton would not have gravitated to the East, leaving the shell of a cotton industry and an army of workless as a monument to the heyday of cotton in Lancashire.

The fact has to be firmly grasped that interference to foreign workers wage conditions

wages after capitalist prosperity, and of capital after cheap labour, lowered costs, ever more needle-like competition! An endless fight of constant struggle, constant vigilance presents a grim outlook for the conscious workers; but it is a true picture of capitalist reality. Such a picture is too grim to be accepted as the permanent lot of the world's

peoples; some alternative must be sought. But only one alternative presents itself—the ending of the wages system altogether. The destruction of that system which ties production and therefore wages to a fluctuating market, which must always be diminishing because purchasing power is remorselessly linked with wages in a vicious and contracting spiral.

The ending of the wages system demands the Social Revolution; the ending of existing property relationships, and the setting up of free access on the part of everyone to the means of life. Production for need instead of for profit; equality between free men instead of the servile relationship of master and man, employer and worker, rulers and ruled.

Letter from France

Food Dominates Political Front



miserably low wages of the Lancashire cotton operative as "prosperous" compared with unemployment). Had it not been for the cheap labour, capital in cotton would not have gravitated to the East, leaving the shell of a cotton industry and an army of workless as a monument to the heyday of cotton in Lancashire.

The fact has to be firmly grasped that indifference to foreign workers wage conditions ultimately comes back on oneself. Sympathy for the misery of depression thus goes hand in hand with self-interest in the wage struggle.

THE ENDLESS STRUGGLE—OR THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION?

But once this fact is grasped, what a dreary vista is opened up! The endless chase of

FRANCO

dis trust by Spanish workers. They will scarcely have forgotten Non-Intervention. To oppose these UNO gyrations is by no means opposing effective action against Franco. The dictatorship in Spain can only be overturned by the Spanish workers themselves. But before they embark on such a hazardous enterprise (especially since they will not willingly see repeated the bloodshed of 1936 to 1939) they will want some assurance that interferences from foreign governments will not occur again. And the only people who can give them that assurance are the workers in the countries known as "major powers". The Spanish working class can be relied upon to act when they see that their fellow workers abroad are ready to prevent any funny business on the part of their governments. They can scarcely be expected to act before they have that assurance.

Grimsby Trawler Men Out

The baneful operation of the price system is shown once again with monotonous repetition in the recent strike of Grimsby trawlermen. The men came out on strike against the prevailing practice of importing foreign caught fish, which thereby causes a glut on the market, a fall in prices and reduced earnings. Their indignation is not to be wondered at. Fishing is not devoid of danger, and at its best is hard and uncomfortable work. At any time it would be galling enough to land a catch, only to find it unsaleable because of a glut, however produced. The fishermen have shown in the past that they are fully aware that thousands of people in this country are permanently undernourished and badly need food such as herrings. But at the present moment, that large catches of fish should come to this country and destroy the prices of the Grimsby men's catch, instead of being sent to Germany and other con-

Letter from France

Food Dominates Political Front

THE political situation in France is dominated, as it has been since last autumn, by the food question and by the fact that so far no Government has made any serious attempt to remedy the deficiencies of production and distribution by which the crisis has been brought about.

Before the war France was much nearer to self-sufficiency in food production than England, and only a very little reorganization of agriculture on scientific lines to provide for more intensive culture could easily have made up for the deficiency and ensured the French people an abundance of food grown from their own soil which would have made them free from the semi-starvation in which so many of them live to-day. But it is quite clear that no effort has been made towards such a reorganization. Even the grossly inadequate and clumsy methods used to increase food production in England during the war are far ahead of anything that has been done in France. Travelling through France from the north to the south-east, I was astonished at the poor cultivation of most of the country. Only in Alsace and in the market gardening area near Paris, (and in these areas it must be admitted), the peasants and maraichers had certainly made the best possible use of their land by intensive cultivation. But elsewhere culture seemed at a very low level. In the north, the Pas de Calais and Normandy, there are very large areas where pastures have been derelict from lack of drainage, and in the south-east, in such departments as Haut Saone, one

can travel for miles and see no sign of cultivation—only wide areas of neglected grassland on which a few scattered herds of cattle are grazing. In all places, with the exceptions mentioned; farming methods are very primitive, and fail to make the best use of what land is cultivated. Everywhere a great amount of labour is wasted through the lack of modern implements, and there is no doubt that the mechanization of agriculture would make a vast difference to the food production of France. In the French countryside tractors are extremely rare, and horses and oxen, men and women, provide almost all the power for working the land. With 200,000 tractors to speed up cultivation and to bring into fertility the great areas of derelict and untouched lands, with a co-operative organization among the peasants to make full use of such facilities to obtain high yields of foodstuffs, the crisis of production would be over.

But there remains a great disorganization of distribution which so far has not been solved. Generally speaking, in the country there is a sufficiency of most foods, and a superfluity of some. In the cities there is a scarcity of everything, except for those who are able to pay black market prices. In the case of some foods it is possible that there would in any case be a general scarcity until production is improved. In others however, such as potatoes wine and milk, the scarcity in the cities is completely unnecessary. Of all these products the peasants have an abundance: they are feeding their potatoes to the pigs, while in Paris the ration is only 2 kilos (less than 5 lbs.) a month!

It is partly due to transport difficulties. The damage to railways and roads during the allied air raids and the invasion is still very largely unrepaired, and this work is going on very slowly, in comparison with the energetic way in which the Dutch have handled this problem. (Owing to the retention of so many men in such socially useless work as the army, civil service and police, there is a shortage of workers for such essential reconstruction work as railways and housing).

But an even more important factor in the failure of distribution is the fact that the peasants are disinclined to sell at the low official prices when they can get so much more in the black market. They themselves suffer from a scarcity of implements, manufactured goods, clothes, etc., for which they have to pay exorbitant prices, and consequently they are anxious to obtain the best prices they can for their products. The only solution of this problem would be for the peasants to be given freely all the manufactured products they need in return for their surplus food, which could then be distributed equitably among the people in the city. This would com-

pletely cut away the foundations of the black market in food. But it is a solution which we cannot expect from any government because it would allow no place for profit or privilege. It would succeed only by means of free agreement between the workers in the city and those on the land, and a system of distribution within the cities by delegates of the people who would be free from the corruption which permeates the whole of the French bureaucracy.

Under the present conditions of scarcity there is in France a much greater disparity than in England in the standard of living between those who have money and the workers. In the centre of Paris and its West End the people are smartly dressed, the shops are full of expensive luxury goods, jewellery, perfumes, clothes, etc., while the restaurants serve meals for gourmets which are as abundant and well-cooked as they ever were. Everything can be bought by those who have plenty of money. In the working class quarters in the east and south of Paris, however, the scene is entirely different. The people look half starved and are dressed poorly in shabby ragged clothes. An indication of their poverty can be seen in the Sunday Flea Markets which are held in all the poorer quarters of the city, and which are crowded nowadays by people trying to sell any kind of goods they can spare in order to earn a few francs to eke out their scanty wages.

The standard of living of all classes of workers in France has fallen catastrophically from that before the war, owing to the vast disparity between the rise in wages and that in prices. Wages are now from three to four times as high as before the war. An average worker earns about 6,000 francs (£12. 10. 0.) a month, a well paid skilled worker 8,000 francs (about £16. 10. 0.) a month. Prices in the other hand, with the exception of rent and one or two staple products like bread, have risen to at least *twelve times* those of before the war. In the case of clothes the increase has been at least *twenty times*, so that the making only of a man's suit (without material) costs 8,000 francs, while a pair of very poor shoes will cost from 2,000 to 3,000 francs. Outside the scanty official rations (considerably less than in England) prices soar very high. Cheese, for instance, will cost as much as four shillings for a quarter of a pound, while eggs cost 15 francs (7½d.) each. Any kind of service, like laundering or cleaning is exorbitantly costly, and no kind of limit is imposed on the sale of luxury goods. Indeed, on the contrary, the Governments have so far tended to encourage the sale of highly priced goods, as this increases their receipts from taxes on sales. Moreover, no serious effort is made

(continued on p.3)

ANARCHISTS are sometimes impatient with theory, and this may be because they think theories tend towards orthodoxy. That is a danger. But the dangers of shelving theoretical discussion may be as great. Anarchism is a struggle for freedom and a fight against servility. But servility is not always easily recognised. And unless anarchists are *critical* it is possible that the anarchist struggle itself will become servile in ways that they hadn't suspected. In anarchism as in other social movements you can't separate questions of practice from questions of theory unless your practice is to lose its point.

Now I think the struggle for freedom may degenerate if anarchists seriously think of it as a struggle for a classless society or a society in which social conflict is eliminated. I suspect that certain confusions about "mutual aid" have led some anarchists to think this way. And I think that anarchists need to make clear the bearing that "mutual aid" has upon the fight against servility,—if it has any bearing on it at all.

FREEDOM AND CONFLICT By R. Rhee

Preoccupation with mutual aid will be a hindrance to anarchism, at any rate, if it commits anarchists to any form of humanitarianism,—to a view that anarchism is a struggle to promote the happiness of mankind as a whole, or anything of that sort. To be interested in freedom as a means to happiness, or because people are happier that way, is already to adopt a servile outlook.

We find the struggle for freedom where freedom is exercised,—in free activities. And free activities would seem to be activities which are carried on not in the interest of any end (call it happiness or what you will) but simply on their own account. They are "disinterested" in the sense in which artistic creation or scientific inquiry may be, or in which love and friendship are.

If an artist dedicates his art to the service of any "higher" end, then it generally becomes propaganda or it becomes didactic or it tries to be pleasant; in any case it is controlled by other than artistic considerations, and this is what serious artists reject. The opposition to censorship in art and in science or in history is part of the insistence that art and investigation have no "aim",—that all they are seriously concerned with is the artistic material and the subject of the investigation. The phrase "art for art's sake" has become associated with aestheticism or "artiness", and this is a perversion in another direction, but still a perversion away from serious art which is interested in its material and not in the effects this may have on people. (Science has its parallels to aestheticism,—one of which may be the fetishism of "measurement" and statistical tables.)

It is common enough for art to become servile,—to recognise "higher aims",—just as it is for science or for education. Generally this service appears as some form of humanitarianism. Even love can be twisted into a sacrament, and the rearing of children is a way of serving the state. In any case servility and the service of higher aims or interests go together.

It is one of the conditions of freedom in education that subjects should be treated for what they are,—that should be presented and discussed critically, with a view to their being understood,—and not, for instance, with a view to producing better citizens or "balanced personalities". And an interest in freedom here goes with the view that education should be controlled by those engaged in it and not by authorities who look to the needs of industry or what is of national importance or the public welfare. Here, as in art, the demand for freedom is also a rejection of regulation. The initiative, the working

chiefly that it is a movement in which workers do organise their own industrial activities and achieve a certain measure of control. And anarchists in the working class movement would be concerned to maintain and extend this control. (I say "maintain and extend" because the working class movement, like any other, contains servile tendencies and is liable to degeneration. Compare the approval of state socialism.)

Now in these examples there is nothing to suggest that any activity is ever "completely free" or that such a statement would have any clear meaning. Art, science, education and industrial production are carried on in the midst of restrictive and obscurantist and servile tendencies; and these tendencies are found not only in other sections of society but in the workers in these fields themselves. Neither art nor science could thrive for long without the help of criticism. In fact the struggle against restrictive and servile tendencies is an inseparable part of free activity in any of these fields. We can hardly imagine

a serious artist or a serious investigator who was not at the same time a critic both of his own work and of others. And the same applies to organisations. Free activity is always critical and it couldn't exist in any other form. In other words, freedom is at the same time struggle. It exists under conditions of struggle; and I suggest that we cannot imagine freedom under any other conditions.

It does not follow from this that "we might as well accept the present state of things". On the contrary: that would be to give up struggle and abandon freedom for servility. But it does follow that we cannot look on the struggle for freedom as a campaign to achieve a completely free society.

The notion of a society in which struggle were eliminated—the struggle of freedom against activities and tendencies that are opposed to it,—is of a society in which freedom would be eliminated as well, of a society that would be thoroughly servile. And it is a perversion of the struggle here and now to present it as a striving after some condition in which struggle will no longer be needed. This has the faults of utopianism. It suggests that we are striving after something glorious but we don't know just what. And because it distracts attention from the free features of activities we are now engaged on it muddles criticism,—it makes it more difficult to distinguish what is free from what is servile in what we're now doing.

This is not to say that anarchism can have no revolutionary objectives,—that it cannot work for the abolition of capitalist ownership or of state institutions, for instance. But anarchists have never held that the removal of these institutions would bring on apocalyptic change in the whole of society. Lots would still go on that is going on now, and in much the same way. But the abolition of capitalism would make possible the development and extension of freedom in a measure that can't be hoped for otherwise. But other developments would be possible as well. And there is no reason to think that the development of freedom would find no hindrances.

(For orthodox Marxists of course it follows that if you have removed capitalist property you have removed class divisions, since there is no longer any "basis" for such divisions. This raises interesting questions, but it is not necessary for me to insist that there will be class struggles, in the special sense the Marxists want to keep to. I only want to insist that there will be struggles and conflicts between movements and organisations in any society from which capitalism has gone.)

That the life of existing societies doesn't get its character

or of interest in constructional work—that it communicates itself to other workers in the field. It is for this reason that work may be caught up in movements and develop capacities for work and achievement which they would not have developed by themselves. (On all this see John Anderson's articles in the *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy*, especially September, 1942.)

It was important also to insist that common work was natural to human beings and always has been, and that it has not come about because they have been directed into it.

Common work doesn't limit freedom, it furthers it. A common work doesn't require governmental or any other authority.

It may be said also that if it were not for spontaneous common activities societies would cease to exist. But that is not to say that there could ever be a society in which there was nothing else,—in which there were no tendencies toward

division and exclusion. And it does not make sense of speaking of "the unity of all mankind" as though "mankind" might sometime be engaged in one great common enterprise. In fact Kropotkin's own showing of the "mutual aid" among members of one group is compatible with hostility to members of another (I would suggest that it is compatible with considerable division and exclusiveness within the group as well). In any case what he describes is mutual aid in various particular enterprises. And it is in particular enterprises that social life is carried on. Social life has never been dependent on all engaging in one common enterprise. Societies exist where men are engaged in different forms of common work (though this is not the only feature of societies).

Of course such enterprises are not cut off from one another and development in one field often assists development in another. Thus the development of industry ("the advancement of productive forces") may further the advancement of science and *vice versa*. And it may be that the advancement of freedom in one field is always of assistance to the advancement of freedom in another. But there is still no sense in speaking of a common aim or a common enterprise of "society as a whole" or "the whole of mankind".

But when Kropotkin speaks of "the principle of mutual aid" he doesn't mean only co-operation in common work though he does include that. He includes also, for instance, the spontaneous impulse to relieve distress or to give assistance in emergency. He describes how this "principle" has been extended as societies have become less primitive, so that men come to feel concern about distress and catastrophes in other tribes and other countries, and may come to recognise common institutions with people of other tribes. He thinks this extension may continue, though he would admit there has been retrogression (He hadn't seen the special developments of nationalism in the past 30 years).

Now mutual aid in this sense may be connected with common work, but I think it is important to remember that it isn't the same thing. The spontaneous readiness to "help" may do something to make co-operation possible, but it may also be a hindrance to any co-operation that furthers freedom. It may operate to foster servility, as our "social service" workers are constantly showing us. It may work for the disruption and weakening of independent movements. "Helpfulness" is one of the worst pests that anarchists have to contend with.

Further, suppose we grant that the extension of a "service of common humanity" may continue, and that this may

the service of higher aims or interests go together. It is one of the conditions of freedom in education that subjects should be treated for what they are,—that should be presented and discussed critically, with a view to their being understood,—and not, for instance, with a view to producing better citizens or “balanced personalities”. And an interest in freedom here goes with the view that education should be controlled by those engaged in it and not by authorities who look to the needs of industry or what is of national importance or the public welfare. Here, as in art, the demand for freedom is also a rejection of regulation. The initiative, the working out of the line to be taken at any stage, must be in the hands of educational workers themselves.

This suggests a certain parallel with freedom in other fields, for instance in industry. The activities of industrial workers are free just to the extent to which they organise and direct these activities themselves. The work of production is free when it is governed by the needs and character of the work of production, and not for instance by the state of the commodity market. This is connected with the Marxian view of exploitation as the “alienation” of labour from the productive process, as the divorce of workers from enterprise and initiative in production. There are special problems here, for instance those connected with the interrelations of different branches of industry, which don’t appear in the other fields I have mentioned. And I don’t wish to press the analogy too far. But here as there freedom involves the rejection of control or subservience to external ends. And freedom is a certain way of working and of living.

For anarchists the value of the working class movement is

well. And there is no reason to think that the development of freedom would find no hindrances.

(For orthodox Marxists of course it follows that if you have removed capitalist property you have removed class divisions, since there is no longer any “basis” for such divisions. This raises interesting questions, but it is not necessary for me to insist that there will be class struggles, in the special sense the Marxists want to keep to. I only want to insist that there will be struggles and conflicts between movements and organisations in any society from which capitalism has gone).

That the life of existing societies doesn’t get its character wholly (or even mainly) from those who rule them is surely a familiar part of anarchist teaching. It seems to me one of the most valuable points in what Kropotkin says about mutual aid. And the movements and institutions which have developed independently of the ruling class and of the state may well continue without them. The removal of the present rulers would be part of the extension of such free and co-operative activities as already exist,—co-operation being one feature of that organisation of their own activities by workers in any field which I have referred to.

It was important to insist, as Kropotkin did, that freedom and common work go together, and that neither science nor art nor industry have ever developed just through “individual self assertion”. In fact workers in any of these fields—even men like Galileo and Bethoven and Watt—have been contributing to and carrying forward a movement which they did not initiate and couldn’t have planned, but without which their work would not have been what it was. And it is a feature of free activities—of the exercise of the spirit of inquiry, of artistic seriousness

past 30 years). Now mutual aid in this sense may be connected with common work, but I think it is important to remember that it isn’t the same thing. The spontaneous readiness to “help” may do something to make co-operation possible, but it may also be a hindrance to any co-operation that furthers freedom. It may operate to foster servility, as our “social service” workers constantly showing us. It may work for the disruption and weakening of independent movements. “Helpfulness” is one of the worst pests that anarchists have to contend with.

Further, suppose we grant that the extension of a “sense of common humanity” may continue, and that this may be spoken of as a “unification”. Perhaps present societies will give up certain forms of rivalry. Perhaps national states will cease to exist in the forms they have had during the past 100 years. Perhaps “national sovereignty” will be abandoned. A people may become more sensitive to distress and injustice in other parts of the globe than they are now. Still there is no reason to think that this would eliminate social conflict,—more than the growth of the nation state has eliminated social conflict within its boundaries. There would still be diversity of movements and aims, and there would still be no sense in speaking of something which “all humanity” was trying to promote.

These are only a few points, but they may suggest ways in which I think the doctrine of mutual aid has misled some anarchists. It seems to me that the struggle for freedom is confused by any notions of the unity of all mankind. It is only by recognising diversity and struggle as features of a society, as inherent in social existence, that the struggle for freedom can have any meaning.



A Corner of the Art Class

A. S. Neill’s school, Summerhill, began twenty-three years ago as an experimental school. Today it would be more true to call it a demonstration school, for it demonstrates that freedom

THAT DREADFUL SCHOOL NOW

about the corridors. In the lounge, where a bright fire burned, older pupils sat in groups reading or talking. There was a delightful atmosphere of do-as-you-please and a complete absence of authority; quite literally so, for I experienced considerable difficulty in finding any of the staff to announce my arrival.

As I climbed the stairs to look for Neill, I heard someone careering madly down. Looking up I saw a girl dressed in jodhpurs and a vivid green shirt, her hair tumbling in her eyes as she flew along. I stopped on the landing and courteously stood aside to let her pass. As she went tearing by she turned with a laugh and shouted, “Don’t be so damned polite.”

Before I had succeeded in finding Neill, I was attracted back to the lounge by the incessant beating of a gong. When the infernal din had stopped, I asked the boy who had been belabouring the gong to tell me what it was all about. He explained that it was to call all those who were due to attend the Tribunal which is a sort of court of honour where the children judge anyone who has been guilty of anti-social behaviour. It is a common fallacy that at Summerhill there is no government and no sanction of any kind. This is far from being true. At Summerhill there is self-government and the authority is the authority of the community.

SUMMERHILL SELF-GOVERNMENT

In order to see Summerhill self-government in action, one must attend the General Meeting

punches. Yet at the same time there was no sign of ill temper and it was clear that they argued in order to arrive at the best solution.

It was interesting to notice that proposals by Neill and by other members of the staff were voted down while the most sensible and practical proposal of the evening, which was carried unanimously, was formulated by Colin aged eight. I have served on many committees but I have seldom met the adult equal of Marcus, a Viennese boy of about thirteen, in the ability to detect the weakness of a proposition or to point out the flaws in an opponent’s argument. The standard of Summerhill self-government is incredibly high. Indeed, my only criticism of this meeting is the almost mystical faith of these youngsters in majority rule and their complete belief in the efficacy of counting heads.

Looking back one feels that a considerable number of the problems, which confront the General Meeting, arise from inadequate funds and consequent lack of space and amenities; and one longs, like the hero in “The World is Mine”, to become a millionaire in order to provide the perfect conditions in which freedom can flourish. Then one remembers that money, like power, corrupts. Perhaps that is what is wrong with schools like Dartington; things come to them too easily.

FREE CHILDREN LEARN

It is difficult not to use superlatives in writing of Summerhill for I found so little to criticise. Something that stood out with the

giously attend every one. On the contrary, the first sunny day in Spring will find half Neill’s school outside kicking a football around; while the other half are probably digging the garden. All I am saying is that when there is something worth learning free children will come and get it. If they didn’t, I would still be advocating the free school because book learning is grossly overrated anyway. But the fact is that they do.

Recently at Summerhill, out of a Sixth Form of seven pupils who went in for the School Certificate: two failed, three passed with Credit and two passed with London Matriculation. Instead, however, of measuring the success of the school by examination results, I would prefer to measure it by discovering how far the school succeeds in providing the conditions and the environment in which the child can grow up to be happy and creative.

END OF TERM

For me, it is virtually impossible to convey words the happy family atmosphere of Summerhill; one has to have experienced it. I was at the school recently for their end of term and it was a memorable experience. The festivities ranged from an amusing little puppet show of the tiny tots to quite an interesting production of “Macbeth” by the older pupils and included several ballet items, by a mixed company of boys and girls, in which boys at the “tough” stage of development performed not only with serious absorption but with considerable grace. Most interesting of all, and certainly the



A Corner of the Art Class

A. S. Neill's school, Summerhill, began twenty-three years ago as an experimental school. Today it would be more true to call it a demonstration school, for it demonstrates that freedom in education is not merely desirable in theory but successful in practice. To those familiar only with the official Demonstration Schools attached to Teachers' Training Colleges, Summerhill would come as something of a shock. Recently, however, more and more Student Teachers and young teachers appalled by the conditions which obtain in the state schools, go down to Summerhill to see for themselves and come away impressed by what they discover.

The first time I visited Summerhill I went with rather mixed feelings, the pleasure of anticipation to some extent offset by a vague anxiety that perhaps after all it might not come up to my expectation. I had always been an enthusiast for Neill's ideas and had read all his books as they came out. Moreover, during fifteen years of teaching, I had been trying within the limitations of the state school to put his theories into practice and had been advocating his ideas whenever opportunity presented itself. But I had never actually visited his school. Supposing that I should be disappointed?

ABSENCE OF AUTHORITY

As soon as I entered the school building, I began to be reassured. Everything was just as I had imagined it would be and I was possessed by that curious feeling that I had been there before. It was a Saturday so there were no lessons. Children romped noisily and happily

about the corridors. In the lounge, where a bright fire burned, older pupils sat in groups reading or talking. There was a delightful atmosphere of do-as-you-please and a complete absence of authority; quite literally so, for I experienced considerable difficulty in finding any of the staff to announce my arrival.

As I climbed the stairs to look for Neill, I heard someone careering madly down. Looking up I saw a girl dressed in jodhpurs and a vivid green shirt, her hair tumbling in her eyes as she flew along. I stopped on the landing and courteously stood aside to let her pass. As she went tearing by she turned with a laugh and shouted, "Don't be so damned polite."

Before I had succeeded in finding Neill, I was attracted back to the lounge by the incessant beating of a gong. When the infernal din had stopped, I asked the boy who had been belabouring the gong to tell me what it was all about. He explained that it was to call all those who were due to attend the Tribunal which is a sort of court of honour where the children judge anyone who has been guilty of anti-social behaviour. It is a common fallacy that at Summerhill there is no government and no sanction of any kind. This is far from being true. At Summerhill there is self-government and the authority is the authority of the community.

SUMMERHILL SELF-GOVERNMENT

In order to see Summerhill self-government in action, one must attend the General Meeting which is held every Saturday evening and for which I had been waiting with a mixture of anticipation and mild scepticism. After supper everyone carried chairs into the lounge and took their places around the sides of the room. This was the first time I had seen the whole school assembled and my first real opportunity of observing them. I was profoundly impressed. Apparently some rather bourgeois visitors are shocked by the careless toilet and untidy clothes of the majority of the children. Many of the boys were wearing lumber jackets, boiler suits and even army tunics adorned with badges which might well have been acquired from American soldiers. The girls' clothes formed a motley collection which ranged from the most disreputable corduroy slacks, worn with rough jumpers or open-neck shirts, to smart conventional suits and gay colourful dresses. There was an air of maturity about the older pupils and of lively confidence about them all which was in striking contrast to the school assemblies with which I am so sadly familiar.

Perhaps what is most impressive about the children at Summerhill is their transparent sincerity and this was very much in evidence at the meeting. Here was no façade of children learning how democracy works. This was the real thing; free children governing themselves. I was struck by their lack of self-consciousness in addressing the meeting and by their confident frankness in discussion. They were not afraid to attack the staff and they never pulled their

punches. Yet at the same time there was no sign of ill temper and it was clear that they argued in order to arrive at the best solution.

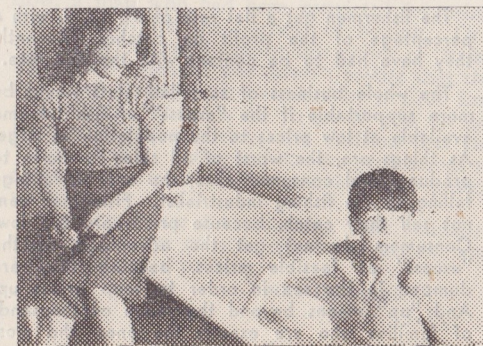
It was interesting to notice that proposals by Neill and by other members of the staff were voted down while the most sensible and practical proposal of the evening, which was carried unanimously, was formulated by Colin aged eight. I have served on many committees but I have seldom met the adult equal of Marcus, a Viennese boy of about thirteen, in the ability to detect the weakness of a proposition or to point out the flaws in an opponent's argument. The standard of Summerhill self-government is incredibly high. Indeed, my only criticism of this meeting is the almost mystical faith of these youngsters in majority rule and their complete belief in the efficacy of counting heads.

Looking back one feels that a considerable number of the problems, which confront the General Meeting, arise from inadequate funds and consequent lack of space and amenities; and one longs, like the hero in "The World is Mine", to become a millionaire in order to provide the perfect conditions in which freedom can flourish. Then one remembers that money, like power, corrupts. Perhaps that is what is wrong with schools like Dartington; things come to them too easily.

FREE CHILDREN LEARN

It is difficult not to use superlatives in writing of Summerhill for I found so little to criticise. Something that stood out with the most striking clarity was the fact that free children actually do want to learn. I had been talking to Corkhill the Science Master during his free period, when the lesson bell rang and the next form came tumbling into the lab. We had reached an interesting point in our conversation and continued talking for a minute or two although the boys were sitting at their places waiting. But only for a minute or two, because we were recalled to a sense of duty by a voice which cried, "Come on Corky. What about this bloody lesson? We want to get started."

I am not trying to pretend that children who are allowed to stay away from lessons will reli-



giously attend every one. On the contrary, the first sunny day in Spring will find half Neill's school outside kicking a football around; while the other half are probably digging the garden. All I am saying is that when there is something worth learning free children will come and go. If they didn't, I would still be advocating the free school because book learning is grossly overrated anyway. But the fact is that they do.

Recently at Summerhill, out of a Sixth Form of seven pupils who went in for the School Certificate: two failed, three passed with Credit and two passed with London Matriculation. Instead, however, of measuring the success of school by examination results, I would prefer to measure it by discovering how far the school succeeds in providing the conditions and the environment in which the child can grow up to be happy and creative.

END OF TERM

For me, it is virtually impossible to convey words the happy family atmosphere of Summerhill; one has to have experienced it. I was at the school recently for their end of term and it was a memorable experience. The festivities ranged from an amusing little puppet show to the tiny tots to quite an interesting production of "Macbeth" by the older pupils and included several ballet items, by a mixed company of boys and girls, in which boys at the "tough" stage of development performed not only with serious absorption but with considerable grace. Most interesting of all, and certainly the most popular with the children, were the plays which had been written at the school. In one of the a working class girl says, "You don't have to marry me after all. It was a false alarm."

Characteristic of a Summerhill end of term is the dancing which goes on all night. And what dancing! I have done a fair amount of my time but I take the floor at Summerhill with considerable humility. These kids can dance. Even the younger ones perform the most involved sequences with accuracy and grace. This is not surprising when one realises what a popular place dancing holds in Summerhill life. Besides the dance every Saturday night after the General Meeting, there is also one every Sunday night; and if there were not so many other interesting activities available, they would probably dance every night. But life is full and rich for children who are free, and I can understand the boy who told me that although he was looking forward to seeing his parents he would actually prefer to spend his Easter holidays at the school.

OUR PROBLEM

Yes, Summerhill is certainly a demonstration school. More than that, it is a great achievement and it presents a tremendous challenge to all those who subscribe to the doctrine of freedom. Its limitation, like that of all similar schools, is that it can only provide this environment for the children of parents who can afford

chiefly that it is a movement in which workers do organise their own industrial activities and achieve a certain measure of control. And anarchists in the working class movement would be concerned to maintain and extend this control. (I say "maintain and extend" because the working class movement, like any other, contains servile tendencies and is liable to degeneration. Compare the approval of state socialism.)

Now in these examples there is nothing to suggest that any activity is ever "completely free" or that such a statement would have any clear meaning. Art, science, education and industrial production are carried on in the midst of restrictive and obscurantist and servile tendencies; and these tendencies are found not only in other sections of society but in the workers in these fields themselves. Neither art nor science could thrive for long without the help of criticism. In fact the struggle against restrictive and servile tendencies is an inseparable part of free activity in any of these fields. We can hardly imagine

or of interest in constructional work—that it communicates itself to other workers in the field. It is for this reason that men may be caught up in movements and develop capacities for work and achievement which they would not have developed by themselves. (On all this see John Anderson's articles in the *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy*, especially September, 1942).

It was important also to insist that common work was natural to human beings and always has been, and that it has not come about because they have been directed into it.

Common work doesn't limit freedom, it furthers it. And common work doesn't require governmental or any other authority.

It may be said also that if it were not for spontaneous common activities societies would cease to exist. But that is not to say that there could ever be a society in which there was nothing else,—in which there were no tendencies towards

OM AND CONFLICT By R. Rhees

a serious artist or a serious investigator who was not at the same time a critic both of his own work and of others. And the same applies to organisations. Free activity is always critical and it couldn't exist in any other form. In other words, freedom is at the same time struggle. It exists under conditions of struggle; and I suggest that we cannot imagine freedom under any other conditions.

It does not follow from this that "we might as well accept the present state of things". On the contrary: that would be to give up struggle and abandon freedom for servility. But it does follow that we cannot look on the struggle for freedom as a campaign to achieve a completely free society.

The notion of a society in which struggle were eliminated—the struggle of freedom against activities and tendencies that are opposed to it,—is of a society in which freedom would be eliminated as well, of a society that would be thoroughly servile. And it is a perversion of the struggle here and now to present it as a striving after some condition in which struggle will no longer be needed. This has the faults of utopianism. It suggests that we are striving after something glorious but we don't know just what. And because it distracts attention from the free features of activities we are now engaged on it muddles criticism,—it makes it more difficult to distinguish what is free from what is servile in what we're now doing.

This is not to say that anarchism can have no revolutionary objectives,—that it cannot work for the abolition of capitalist ownership or of state institutions, for instance. But anarchists have never held that the removal of these institutions would bring on apocalyptic change in the whole of society. Lots would still go on that is going on now, and in much the same way. But the abolition of capitalism would make possible the development and extension of freedom in a measure that can't be hoped for otherwise. But other developments would be possible as well. And there is no reason to think that the development of freedom would find no hindrances.

(For orthodox Marxists of course it follows that if you have removed capitalist property you have removed class divisions, since there is no longer any "basis" for such divisions. This raises interesting questions, but it is not necessary for me to insist that there will be class struggles, in the special sense the Marxists want to keep to. I only want to insist that there will be struggles and conflicts between movements and organisations in any society from which capitalism has gone).

That the life of existing societies doesn't get its character wholly (or even mainly) from those who make them is made

division and exclusion. And it does not make sense of speaking of "the unity of all mankind" as though "mankind" might sometime be engaged in one great common enterprise. In fact on Kropotkin's own showing the "mutual aid" among members of one group is compatible with hostility to members of another. (I would suggest that it is compatible with considerable division and exclusiveness within the group as well). In any case what he describes is mutual aid in various particular enterprises. And it is in particular enterprises that social life is carried on. Social life has never been dependent on all engaging in one common enterprise. Societies exist where men are engaged in different forms of common work (though this is not the only feature of societies).

Of course such enterprises are not cut off from one another and development in one field often assists development in another. Thus the development of industry ("the advancement of productive forces") may further the advancement of science, and *vice versa*. And it may be that the advancement of freedom in one field is always of assistance to the advancement of freedom in another. But there is still no sense in speaking of a common aim or a common enterprise of "society as a whole" or "the whole of mankind".

But when Kropotkin speaks of "the principle of mutual aid" he doesn't mean only co-operation in common work though he does include that. He includes also, for instance, the spontaneous impulse to relieve distress or to give assistance in an emergency. He describes how this "principle" has been extended as societies have become less primitive, so that men come to feel concern about distress and catastrophes in other tribes and other countries, and may come to recognise common institutions with people of other tribes. He thinks this extension may continue, though he would admit there has been retrogression. (He hadn't seen the special developments of nationalism in the past 30 years).

Now mutual aid in this sense may be connected with common work, but I think it is important to remember that it isn't the same thing. The spontaneous readiness to "help" may do something to make co-operation possible, but it may also be a hindrance to any co-operation that furthers freedom. It may operate to foster servility, as our "social service" workers are constantly showing us. It may work for the disruption and weakening of independent movements. "Helpfulness" is one of the worst pests that anarchists have to contend with.

Further, suppose we grant that the extension of a "sense of common humanity" may continue, and that this may be

FILM VANDALS

If I walked into the National Gallery, drew a knife and slashed one of the paintings hanging there, completely destroying it, I should by any standards be guilty of vandalism. If, as a reason, I said that I had a painting of my own to hang in its place, I'm fairly certain it would not save me from the wrath of the law.

But to Big Business nothing is sacred. While for years now we have been aware of the fact that many labour-saving devices and inventions have been bought up and suppressed in the interests of market monopoly, now we are seeing this practice extended to the actual destruction of some of the best French films in the interest of Hollywood monopoly.

In Hollywood the prime factor in film-making is the Box Office. The public may be regarded as moronic adolescents and as long as they keep on going to the movies and paying their one-and-nines the moguls of Los Angeles are only too pleased to churn out the rubbish. But in France, although obviously the film companies do not ignore the economic factor, they do regard films as an art form with a little more to be said for them than that they make the coin clink. French film makers have an adult approach to their job and credit their audiences with adult intelligences, too.

Quai des Brumes, for example, is a film with a deserter as its hero. He deserts, he speaks against the dulling effect of Army discipline, he goes to bed with the girl he falls in love with, and although he's tough it isn't the heroic Humphrey Bogart stuff, it's quite ordinary working man's toughness. In a word, the whole thing is real. And *Le Jour se Leve*, with the same actor (Jean Gabin) in the central role, is an even greater film. The story of a factory worker goaded into committing murder, who barricades himself in his bedroom against the police (with the sympathy and solidarity of his workmates), with its sensitive handling and attention to detail, makes this film one of the highest achievements of the film-makers' art.

It is a success—so what happens? Hollywood decide they would like to make a film like it, but know perfectly well they haven't got the talent. For so long have the American hacks been compelled to work with an eye on the profits that even if they originally had any ideas on the film as an art they have by now had that nonsense knocked out of them. So knowing they cannot compete worth for worth, Hollywood now goes to work in the way in which it is supreme. An American company has bought all the rights and all the copies of *Le Jour se Leve* and blandly announces that it is going to destroy the film—it will never be shown again after its present run in London* has finished—and an American version will be made and offered.

ity and
ication that
t should be
their being
producing
interest in
uld be con-
s who look
importance or
for freedom
the working
n the hands

m in other
f industrial
rganise and
roduction is
of the work
commodity
of exploita-
ive process,
nitiation those
stance those
es of indus-
mentioned.
But here as
ervience to
working and
movement is

for otherwise. But other developments would be possible as well. And there is no reason to think that the development of freedom would find no hindrances.

(For orthodox Marxists of course it follows that if you have removed capitalist property you have removed class divisions, since there is no longer any "basis" for such divisions. This raises interesting questions, but it is not necessary for me to insist that there will be class struggles, in the special sense the Marxists want to keep to. I only want to insist that there will be struggles and conflicts between movements and organisations in any society from which capitalism has gone).

That the life of existing societies doesn't get its character wholly (or even mainly) from those who rule them is surely a familiar part of anarchist teaching. It seems to me one of the most valuable points in what Kropotkin says about mutual aid. And the movements and institutions which have developed independently of the ruling class and of the state may well continue without them. The removal of the present rulers would be part of the extension of such free and co-operative activities as already exist,—co-operation being one feature of that organisation of their own activities by workers in any field which I have referred to.

It was important to insist, as Kropotkin did, that freedom and common work go together, and that neither science nor art nor industry have ever developed just through "individual self assertion". In fact workers in any of these fields—even men like Galileo and Bethoven and Watt—have been contributing to and carrying forward a movement which they did not initiate and couldn't have planned, but without which their work would not have been what it was. And it is a feature of free activities—of the exercise of the spirit of inquiry, of artistic seriousness

Now mutual aid in this sense may be connected with common work, but I think it is important to remember that it isn't the same thing. The spontaneous readiness to "help" may do something to make co-operation possible, but it may also be a hindrance to any co-operation that furthers freedom. It may operate to foster servility, as our "social service" workers are constantly showing us. It may work for the disruption and weakening of independent movements. "Helpfulness" is one of the worst pests that anarchists have to contend with.

Further, suppose we grant that the extension of a "sense of common humanity" may continue, and that this may be spoken of as a "unification". Perhaps present societies will give up certain forms of rivalry. Perhaps national states will cease to exist in the forms they have had during the past 100 years. Perhaps "national sovereignty" will be abandoned. And people may become more sensitive to distress and injustice in other parts of the globe than they are now. Still there is no reason to think that this would eliminate social conflict,—any more than the growth of the nation state has eliminated social conflict within its boundaries. There would still be diversity of movements and aims, and there would still be no sense in speaking of something which "all humanity" was trying to promote.

These are only a few points, but they may suggest ways in which I think the doctrine of mutual aid has misled some anarchists. It seems to me that the struggle for freedom is confused by any notions of the unity of all mankind. It is only by recognising diversity and struggle as features of any society, as inherent in social existence, that the struggle for freedom can have any meaning.

been compelled to work with an eye on the profits that even if they originally had any ideas on the film as an art they have by now had that nonsense knocked out of them. So knowing they cannot compete worth for worth, Hollywood now goes to work in the way in which it is supreme. An American company has bought all the rights and all the copies of *Le Jour se Leve* and blandly announces that it is going to destroy the film—it will never be shown again after its present run in London* has finished—and an American version will be made and offered in its place.

This is despicable for at least two reasons. It shows the utter poverty of American studios, (in spite of all their tremendous material advantages), in the creation of new stories or original films for themselves. And it is nothing short of absolute vandalism for them to deliberately destroy a film which can unquestionably be called a work of art.

So monopoly marches on. The film industry in England is in the hands of J. Rank, Esq., and between him and Sam Goldwyn & Co., what have we to hope for on the screen at the local? The almighty dollar which now tells us what we are to eat, to wear, to work at and die for, is now, without the slightest regards for our tastes, ensuring that when we go to the movies we shall see not the good films we should like to see, but only those films calculated to make more dollars.

And as we go to press, I hear a rumour to the effect that Uncle Sam has bought up all the rights on Beethoven's Fifth Symphony (it's out of date anyway, see?) with a view to putting it out of the way, as a couple of Swing Kings on Tin Pan Alley have written a Sooper-Dooper NEW version with a special vocal part for "The Voice" to put it across . . .

PHILIP SANSOM.



Since the above was written, it appears that the Hakim Brothers (who bought *Le Jour se Leve*) have been disconcerted by the opposition expressed both by film critics and the public to the destruction of this film, and are now not sure whether or not to go ahead.

Heartbeat with Ginger Rogers, their version of the French film *Battlement du Cœur* has been so coolly received that it is now likely the Hakim Brothers may be persuaded that it is an unprofitable way of doing business after all. That is probably the only argument that would carry any weight with them.

P. S.

*At Studio One, Oxford Street. Provincial comrades have "had it".

THAT DREADFUL SCHOOL NOW

about the corridors. In the lounge, where a bright fire burned, older pupils sat in groups reading or talking. There was a delightful atmosphere of do-as-you-please and a complete absence of authority; quite literally so, for I experienced considerable difficulty in finding any of the staff to announce my arrival.

As I climbed the stairs to look for Neill, I heard someone careering madly down. Looking up I saw a girl dressed in jodhpurs and a vivid green shirt, her hair tumbling in her eyes as she flew along. I stopped on the landing and courteously stood aside to let her pass. As she went tearing by she turned with a laugh and shouted, "Don't be so damned polite."

Before I had succeeded in finding Neill, I was attracted back to the lounge by the incessant beating of a gong. When the infernal din had stopped, I asked the boy who had been belabouring the gong to tell me what it was all about. He explained that it was to call all those who were due to attend the Tribunal which is a sort of court of honour where the children judge anyone who has been guilty of anti-social behaviour. It is a common fallacy that at Summerhill there is no government and no sanction of any kind. This is far from being true. At Summerhill there is self-government and the authority is the authority of the community.

SUMMERHILL SELF-GOVERNMENT

In order to see Summerhill self-government in

punches. Yet at the same time there was no sign of ill temper and it was clear that they argued in order to arrive at the best solution.

It was interesting to notice that proposals by Neill and by other members of the staff were voted down while the most sensible and practical proposal of the evening, which was carried unanimously, was formulated by Colin aged eight. I have served on many committees but I have seldom met the adult equal of Marcus, a Viennese boy of about thirteen, in the ability to detect the weakness of a proposition or to point out the flaws in an opponent's argument. The standard of Summerhill self-government is incredibly high. Indeed, my only criticism of this meeting is the almost mystical faith of these youngsters in majority rule and their complete belief in the efficacy of counting heads.

Looking back one feels that a considerable number of the problems, which confront the General Meeting, arise from inadequate funds and consequent lack of space and amenities; and one longs, like the hero in "The World is Mine", to become a millionaire in order to provide the perfect conditions in which freedom can flourish. Then one remembers that money, like power, corrupts. Perhaps that is what is wrong with schools like Dartington; things come to them too easily.

FREE CHILDREN LEARN

It is difficult not to use superlatives in writing of Summerhill for I found so little to criticise. Something that stood out with the

giously attend every one. On the contrary, the first sunny day in Spring will find half Neill's school outside kicking a football around; while the other half are probably digging the garden. All I am saying is that when there is something worth learning free children will come and get it. If they didn't, I would still be advocating the free school because book learning is grossly overrated anyway. But the fact is that they do.

Recently at Summerhill, out of a Sixth Form of seven pupils who went in for the School Certificate: two failed, three passed with Credits and two passed with London Matriculation. Instead, however, of measuring the success of a school by examination results, I would prefer to measure it by discovering how far the school succeeds in providing the conditions and the environment in which the child can grow up to be happy and creative.

END OF TERM

For me, it is virtually impossible to convey in words the happy family atmosphere of Summerhill; one has to have experienced it. I was at the school recently for their end of term and it was a memorable experience. The festivities ranged from an amusing little puppet show by the tiny tots to quite an interesting production of "Macbeth" by the older pupils and included several ballet items, by a mixed company of boys and girls, in which boys at the "tough" stage of development performed not only with serious absorption but with considerable grace.

to pay the fees; in other words, for children from the upper and middle classes. The problem, with which we are confronted, is how to provide such schools for the children of the working class.

It may be that the solution will be found in free day schools. A start might be made along the lines suggested by Dorothy Nadin in the February 9th issue of *Freedom*. There are formidable obstacles in the way but they are by no means insuperable. Francisco Ferrer suc-

about the corridors. In the lounge, where a bright fire burned, older pupils sat in groups reading or talking. There was a delightful atmosphere of do-as-you-please and a complete absence of authority; quite literally so, for I experienced considerable difficulty in finding any of the staff to announce my arrival.

As I climbed the stairs to look for Neill, I heard someone careering madly down. Looking up I saw a girl dressed in jodhpurs and a vivid green shirt, her hair tumbling in her eyes as she flew along. I stopped on the landing and courteously stood aside to let her pass. As she went tearing by she turned with a laugh and shouted, "Don't be so damned polite."

Before I had succeeded in finding Neill, I was attracted back to the lounge by the incessant beating of a gong. When the infernal din had stopped, I asked the boy who had been belabouring the gong to tell me what it was all about. He explained that it was to call all those who were due to attend the Tribunal which is a sort of court of honour where the children judge anyone who has been guilty of anti-social behaviour. It is a common fallacy that at Summerhill there is no government and no sanction of any kind. This is far from being true. At Summerhill there is self-government and the authority is the authority of the community.

SUMMERHILL SELF-GOVERNMENT

In order to see Summerhill self-government in action, one must attend the General Meeting which is held every Saturday evening and for which I had been waiting with a mixture of anticipation and mild scepticism. After supper everyone carried chairs into the lounge and took their places around the sides of the room. This was the first time I had seen the whole school assembled and my first real opportunity of observing them. I was profoundly impressed. Apparently some rather bourgeois visitors are shocked by the careless toilet and untidy clothes of the majority of the children. Many of the boys were wearing lumber jackets, boiler suits and even army tunics adorned with badges which might well have been acquired from American soldiers. The girls' clothes formed a motley collection which ranged from the most disreputable corduroy slacks, worn with rough jumpers or open-neck shirts, to smart conventional suits and gay colourful dresses. There was an air of maturity about the older pupils and of lively confidence about them all which was in striking contrast to the school assemblies with which I am so sadly familiar.

Perhaps what is most impressive about the children at Summerhill is their transparent sincerity and this was very much in evidence at the meeting. Here was no façade of children learning how democracy works. This was the real thing; free children governing themselves. I was struck by their lack of self-consciousness in addressing the meeting and by their confident frankness in discussion. They were not afraid to attack the staff and they never pulled their

punches. Yet at the same time there was no sign of ill temper and it was clear that they argued in order to arrive at the best solution.

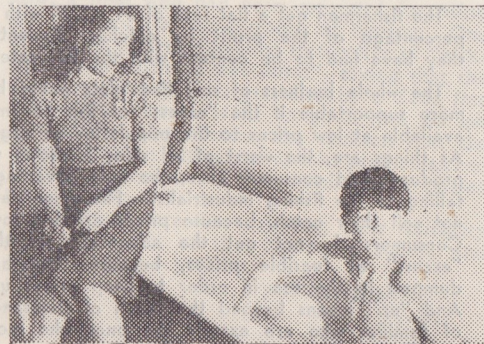
It was interesting to notice that proposals by Neill and by other members of the staff were voted down while the most sensible and practical proposal of the evening, which was carried unanimously, was formulated by Colin aged eight. I have served on many committees but I have seldom met the adult equal of Marcus, a Viennese boy of about thirteen, in the ability to detect the weakness of a proposition or to point out the flaws in an opponent's argument. The standard of Summerhill self-government is incredibly high. Indeed, my only criticism of this meeting is the almost mystical faith of these youngsters in majority rule and their complete belief in the efficacy of counting heads.

Looking back one feels that a considerable number of the problems, which confront the General Meeting, arise from inadequate funds and consequent lack of space and amenities; and one longs, like the hero in "The World is Mine", to become a millionaire in order to provide the perfect conditions in which freedom can flourish. Then one remembers that money, like power, corrupts. Perhaps that is what is wrong with schools like Dartington; things come to them too easily.

FREE CHILDREN LEARN

It is difficult not to use superlatives in writing of Summerhill for I found so little to criticise. Something that stood out with the most striking clarity was the fact that free children actually do want to learn. I had been talking to Corkhill the Science Master during his free period, when the lesson bell rang and the next form came tumbling into the lab. We had reached an interesting point in our conversation and continued talking for a minute or two although the boys were sitting at their places waiting. But only for a minute or two, because we were recalled to a sense of duty by a voice which cried, "Come on Corky. What about this bloody lesson? We want to get started."

I am not trying to pretend that children who are allowed to stay away from lessons will reli-



giously attend every one. On the contrary, the first sunny day in Spring will find half Neill's school outside kicking a football around; while the other half are probably digging the garden. All I am saying is that when there is something worth learning free children will come and get it. If they didn't, I would still be advocating the free school because book learning is grossly overrated anyway. But the fact is that they do.

Recently at Summerhill, out of a Sixth Form of seven pupils who went in for the School Certificate: two failed, three passed with Credits and two passed with London Matriculation. Instead, however, of measuring the success of a school by examination results, I would prefer to measure it by discovering how far the school succeeds in providing the conditions and the environment in which the child can grow up to be happy and creative.

END OF TERM

For me, it is virtually impossible to convey in words the happy family atmosphere of Summerhill; one has to have experienced it. I was at the school recently for their end of term and it was a memorable experience. The festivities ranged from an amusing little puppet show by the tiny tots to quite an interesting production of "Macbeth" by the older pupils and included several ballet items, by a mixed company of boys and girls, in which boys at the "tough" stage of development performed not only with serious absorption but with considerable grace. Most interesting of all, and certainly the most popular with the children, were the plays which had been written at the school. In one of them a working class girl says, "You don't have to marry me after all. It was a false alarm."

Characteristic of a Summerhill end of term is the dancing which goes on all night. And what dancing! I have done a fair amount in my time but I take the floor at Summerhill with considerable humility. These kids can dance. Even the younger ones perform the most involved sequences with accuracy and grace. This is not surprising when one realises what a popular place dancing holds in Summerhill life. Besides the dance every Saturday night after the General Meeting, there is also one every Sunday night; and if there were not so many other interesting activities available, they would probably dance every night. But life is full and rich for children who are free, and I can understand the boy who told me that although he was looking forward to seeing his parents he would actually prefer to spend his Easter holidays at the school.

OUR PROBLEM

Yes, Summerhill is certainly a demonstration school. More than that, it is a great achievement and it presents a tremendous challenge to all those who subscribe to the doctrine of freedom. Its limitation, like that of all similar schools, is that it can only provide this environment for the children of parents who can afford

Tim Pan Alley have written a Sooper-Dooper NEW version with a special vocal part for "The Voice" to put it across . . .

PHILIP SANSOM.



Since the above was written, it appears that the Hakim Brothers (who bought *Le Jour se Leve*) have been disconcerted by the opposition expressed both by film critics and the public to the destruction of this film, and are now not sure whether or not to go ahead.

Heartbeat with Ginger Rogers, their version of the French film *Battlement du Cœur* has been so coolly received that it is now likely the Hakim Brothers may be persuaded that it is an unprofitable way of doing business after all. That is probably the only argument that would carry any weight with them.

P. S.

*At Studio One, Oxford Street. Provincial comrades have "had it".

to pay the fees; in other words, for children from the upper and middle classes. The problem, with which we are confronted, is how to provide such schools for the children of the working class.

It may be that the solution will be found in free day schools. A start might be made along the lines suggested by Dorothy Nadin in the February 9th issue of *Freedom*. There are formidable obstacles in the way but they are by no means insuperable. Francisco Ferrer succeeded in founding his Modern Schools under incomparably greater difficulties and in far more hostile environment. The important thing is to make a start and that can probably best be done by arousing public interest in schools like Summerhill and spreading the knowledge of their achievements. If we can only succeed in awakening among the people a genuine desire for such schools and the will to create them, the way can be found.

TOM EARLEY.

THE LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP
hold regular
DISCUSSION LECTURES
Every Sunday at 7 p.m.
at 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.
(Downstairs)

16th JUNE Eddie Shaw
Max Stirner and the Conscious Ego
23rd JUNE Colin Ward & Duncan Gilchrist:
Building for the People

30th JUNE Commencement of Series on Spain
ADMISSION FREE — QUESTIONS INVITED

British Withdrawal from Egypt

(From a Comrade)

Cairo, June 2nd.

THE news of the British promise to evacuate Egypt was received by the Egyptian parties with mixed feelings. As usual, when anything important happens in political life, everyone tries to justify their own attitude as having been right at the time. There were in the main two divisions of opinion. The Wafdists, or extreme Nationalists, who had always declared Britain would never evacuate Egypt, claimed that the promise was phoney and would not be carried out. This claim has been helped somewhat by the fact that Britain has continued to send troops to Egypt after Bevin's specific declaration that they were withdrawing from Egypt, and undoubtedly some drafts have arrived in the country, hastily sent out men having lost embarkation leave in the rush to get troops there before the date of withdrawal.

However, although the Army has taken care to reinforce Egypt before evacuating it, the Wafdists are wrong in believing it necessary for Britain to keep troops in Egypt. It is obvious that if large numbers of troops are kept in Palestine, which is only just opposite Egypt on the Suez Canal, the troops can be ready to march into Egypt if the occasion demands, to defend the route to India via the Canal and also to defend the oil routes of the Middle East as well as maintain the decisions of the mandatory power in Palestine. The continued maintenance of troops on a large scale in Egypt would have been a needless expense from the imperialist point of view. Mr. Churchill and the Conservatives stood by the old-fashioned imperialist viewpoint of keeping things as they were and maintaining a show of armour in the country which we had occupied for sixty years. The

utilitarian imperialists of the Labour Party scrapped convention and decided to follow a new policy under which foreign investments in Egypt will not suffer.

The Egyptian Premier, Ismail Sidky Pasha declared in his speech to Parliament that the moment he heard of the Labour victory in the General Elections he telegraphed to his colleagues that the new British Government, whose principles were those of justice and equity, would give satisfaction to Egypt, and he praised Mr. Bevin's ideals. Within a couple of days of his speech, it so happened that Yussef El-Mudaack, Mr. Bevin's opposite number in the Egyptian Trade Union Movement—the recognised leader of Egyptian Labour, who represented it at the International Workers Conference in Paris a few months ago—was arrested and charged with propagating "dangerous ideas": the social democratic principles of the British Labour Movement!

The followers of Sidky Pasha are voicing a belief in the British Labour Party which they do not extend to the Egyptian Labour movement, because they want full power for themselves. When they get it, it is likely that the nationalist issue, which has obscured Egyptian policy for so long, will give way to a direct class issue between the fellaheen living in dirt, squalor and poverty and the industrial proletariat of the towns on the one hand, and the "Effendi"—the landlords and capitalists—on the other hand. A serious economic crisis has already hit Alexandria where unemployment figures have skyrocketed following the removal of British supply bases and establishments where thousands of Egyptians were employed. The cultivated lands of Egypt are crowded with a population too large for them, and thousands are hanging on the

coat-tails of the Army establishments as direct employed personnel or with a living derived one way or another from the soldiers stationed in Egypt.

The steady growth of unemployment in the towns may bring contact between the town proletariat and the exploited fellaheen. If this happens, the class issue will be for once a serious factor in Egyptian politics, which all Sidky Pasha's claims of having got rid of the troops by "successful diplomacy" or all the Wafdists claims of having got rid of the British by a few noisy students' catealls, will not be able to obscure.

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

George Woodcock:	
ANARCHY OR CHAOS	2/6
NEW LIFE TO THE LAND	6d.
RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY	3d.
HOMES OR HOVELS?	6d.
ANARCHISM AND MORALITY	2d.
WHAT IS ANARCHISM?	1d.
Peter Kropotkin:	
THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE	1/-
THE WAGE SYSTEM	3d.
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT	3d.
SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS	8/6
(Chosen by Herbert Read)	
Errico Malatesta:	
ANARCHY	3d.
VOTE—WHAT FOR?	1d.
Herbert Read:	
THE PHILOSOPHY OF	
ANARCHISM	1/-
THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN	1/-
John Olday:	
THE MARCH TO DEATH (Cartoons)	1/6
THE LIFE WE LIVE—	
THE DEATH WE DIE (Drawings)	2/6
William Godwin:	
SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL	
JUSTICE	3d.
	1d.
M. L. Berneri:	
WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA	1/-
C. Berneri:	
KROPOTKIN—HIS FEDERALIST	
IDEAS	2d.
Alexander Berkman:	
A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM	1/-
John Hewetson:	
ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI	6d.
W. McCartney:	
THE FRENCH COOKS' SYNDICATE	3d.

DEMOCRACY or

We are often told we must choose between "dictatorship" and "democracy". However much we may be tempted to choose "democracy" because it sounds like freedom, we have to remember that *all* politicians endeavour to show themselves as democratic and the other side as dictatorial. Napoleon, who is portrayed on the Continent as a liberator attacked by reactionary forces, is remembered in England and Russia as a conqueror who wanted to rule the world. Hitler claimed his dictatorial movement was a movement of "the German workers", and Stalin in Russia masks an equally dictatorial state with communist phrases; both of them claiming a one period or another to be surrounded by plutocratic enemies.

However, anyone genuinely anxious to see the truth can tell that Nazi Germany, Stalinist Russia, and other one-party states are not free for the simple reason that the people have obviously no power to change their rulers. But they think that in a democratic country (this is to say, one in which Governments submit themselves at intervals to the electorate) there is freedom.

This is not the case. To be free a people ought to be able to decide major issues for itself, at the very least, instead of which is obliged to leave everything in the hands of representatives elected on perhaps quite different grounds. The Government elected in 1935 on the sole issue of what to do in the Abyssinian dispute, had no "mandate" from the electorate over the Munich Pact of 1938, or the outbreak of war in 1939. These decisions are too important for the ruling class to entrust to the electorate. They allow them to choose between M.P.s—an excellent safety-valve to avoid a feeling of oppression—and let the people think they have the Government they want, but they do not let them shape policy in any way.

"Choosing between M.P.s" may appear to give an opportunity for the people's will to be felt, but the issues are so far and wide as to make it a farce. At the last Election, in one constituency it was possible to choose between a Labour man who specialised in denouncing Munich and a National candidate whose so-

Causes of the Milk Strike

TROUBLE IN THE DAIRY

On Friday, 21st May, 300 men at the Ilford depot of United Dairies stopped work when their application for a wage increase of 12/- a week had been turned down by the management. They were soon joined by men from the other four London depots, the total number involved being about 2,000 men. On the following day, after talks with the Ministry of Labour Officer, they agreed to go back pending negotiations between

wages of the bottling staff up to a subsistence level. Now, when more men are available and U.D. employees are returning from the services, the return to 8-hour shifts means a wage of £4. 12. 6d. a week. How can a man be expected to keep his family on that there days? We have 100 per cent. union membership, but what good is that doing if the Union won't look after the men's interests?"

On Tuesday, 4th June, the firm and the

The French P

(continued from page 1)

to suppress the black market, and both shops and restaurant sell freely at black market prices even to strangers.

In these conditions it will be seen that the worker with 6,000 francs a month is bound to live on the starvation line, particularly if he has a family. The worker can no longer afford any pleasures. He cannot go to the cinema

Egypt after Bevin's specific declaration that they were withdrawing from Egypt, and undoubtedly some drafts have arrived in the country, hastily sent out men having lost embarkation leave in the rush to get troops there before the date of withdrawal.

However, although the Army has taken care to reinforce Egypt before evacuating it, the Wafdists are wrong in believing it necessary for Britain to keep troops in Egypt. It is obvious that if large numbers of troops are kept in Palestine, which is only just opposite Egypt on the Suez Canal, the troops can be ready to march into Egypt if the occasion demands, to defend the route to India via the Canal and also to defend the oil routes of the Middle East as well as maintain the decisions of the mandatory power in Palestine. The continued maintenance of troops on a large scale in Egypt would have been a needless expense from the imperialist point of view. Mr. Churchill and the Conservatives stood by the old-fashioned imperialist viewpoint of keeping things as they were and maintaining a show of armour in the country which we had occupied for sixty years. The

number in the Egyptian Trade Union Movement—the recognised leader of Egyptian Labour, who represented it at the International Workers Conference in Paris a few months ago—was arrested and charged with propagating "dangerous ideas": the social democratic principles of the British Labour Movement!

The followers of Sidky Pasha are voicing a belief in the British Labour Party which they do not extend to the Egyptian Labour movement, because they want full power for themselves. When they get it, it is likely that the nationalist issue, which has obscured Egyptian policy for so long, will give way to a direct class issue between the fellahs living in dirt, squalor and poverty and the industrial proletariat of the towns on the one hand, and the "Effendi"—the landlords and capitalists—on the other hand. A serious economic crisis has already hit Alexandria where unemployment figures have skyrocketed following the removal of British supply bases and establishments where thousands of Egyptians were employed. The cultivated lands of Egypt are crowded with a population too large for them, and thousands are hanging on the

Causes of the Milk Strike

TROUBLE IN THE DAIRY

On Friday, 21st May, 300 men at the Ilford depot of United Dairies stopped work when their application for a wage increase of 12/- a week had been turned down by the management. They were soon joined by men from the other four London depots, the total number involved being about 2,000 men. On the following day, after talks with the Ministry of Labour Officer, they agreed to go back pending negotiations between the firm and the union, (Transport and General Workers).

The chairman of the Ilford Strike Committee said:

"We go back on conditions. If the claim is not conceded we shall come out again. We feel that the public are with us and we don't want to let them down. If we go back now the public will be with us more after Tuesday."

And a member of the Committee added:

"The last negotiations took three months. We asked for 10/- and got 3/6. The men wouldn't stand any more long negotiations—that's why they struck."

A worker from one of the western depots told "Freedom's" correspondent:

"During the war, shortage of labour meant long hours and overtime pay which brought the

wages of the bottling staff up to a subsistence level. Now, when more men are available and U.D. employees are returning from the services, the return to 8-hour shifts means a wage of £4. 12. 6d. a week. How can a man be expected to keep his family on that there days? We have 100 per cent. union membership, but what good is that doing if the Union won't look after the men's interests?"

On Tuesday, 4th June, the firm and the T. & G.W.U. agreed on an increase of 7/- a week which brings the men's weekly wage up to £4. 19. 6. It is certain that but for the prompt strike action of the workers, negotiations would not have been started yet, and an agreement, even if only partially satisfactory, would not have been reached in one day. A parallel can easily be seen between the situation of the milk workers and that of the builders and dockers last year. Wages during the war kept pace, to an extent, with the cost of living, not because of basic increases, but because of the long hours worked. The return to normal working hours puts the worker in a very serious plight. The strike becomes necessary, not to make the employers negotiate but to force the unions to do so. How much longer will the workers tolerate such an absurd and shameful situation?

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

George Woodcock:	
ANARCHY OR CHAOS	2/6
NEW LIFE TO THE LAND	6d.
RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY	3d.
HOMES OR HOVELS?	6d.
ANARCHISM AND MORALITY	2d.
WHAT IS ANARCHISM?	1d.
Peter Kropotkin:	
THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE	1/-
THE WAGE SYSTEM	3d.
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT	3d.
SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS	8/6
(Chosen by Herbert Read)	
Errico Malatesta:	
ANARCHY	3d.
VOTE—WHAT FOR?	1d.
Herbert Read:	
THE PHILOSOPHY OF	
ANARCHISM	1/-
THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN	1/-
John Olday:	
THE MARCH TO DEATH (Cartoons)	1/6
THE LIFE WE LIVE—	
THE DEATH WE DIE (Drawings)	2/6
William Godwin:	
SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL	
JUSTICE	3d.
ON LAW	1d.
M. L. Berneri:	
WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA	1/-
C. Berneri:	
KROPOTKIN—HIS FEDERALIST	
IDEAS	2d.
Alexander Berkman:	
A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM	1/-
John Hewetson:	
ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI	6d.
W. McCartney:	
THE FRENCH COOKS' SYNDICATE	3d.
"Equity":	
THE STRUGGLE IN THE FACTORY	3d.
Icarus:	
THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT	6d.
Anton Ciliga:	
THE KRONSTADT REVOLT	2d.
Marcus Graham:	
THE ISSUES IN THE PRESENT WAR	6d.
Gaston Leval:	
COLLECTIVES IN SPAIN	1d.

When ordering by post, please add postage:

Prices up to 3d.—postage 1d.

3d. to 6d.—2d.

6d. to 1/—3d.

27 RED LION ST., LONDON, W.C1.

for the simple reason that the people have obviously no power to change their rulers. But they think that in a democratic country (this is to say, one in which Governments submit themselves at intervals to the electorate) there is freedom.

This is not the case. To be free a people ought to be able to decide major issues for itself, at the very least, instead of which it is obliged to leave everything in the hands of representatives elected on perhaps quite different grounds. The Government elected in 1935, the sole issue of what to do in the Abyssinian dispute, had no "mandate" from the electorate over the Munich Pact of 1938, or the outbreak of war in 1939. These decisions are too important for the ruling class to entrust to the electorate. They allow them to choose between M.P.s—an excellent safety-valve to avoid a feeling of oppression—and let the people think they have the Government they want, but they do not let them shape policy in any way.

"Choosing between M.P.s" may appear to give an opportunity for the people's will to be felt, but the issues are so far and wide as to make it a farce. At the last Election, in one constituency it was possible to choose between a Labour man who specialised in denouncing Munich and a National candidate whose so-

The French

(continued from page 1)

to suppress the black market, and both shops and restaurant sell freely at black market prices even to strangers.

In these conditions it will be seen that the worker with 6,000 francs a month is bound to live on the starvation line, particularly if he has a family. The worker can no longer afford any pleasures. He cannot go to the cinema, the café, can smoke rarely and in general lives in a state of monotonous penury, trying to make ends meet by all kinds of economic devices to obtain a little more food.

It has been this situation which has been the dominant factor in the recent French elections. These have been marked by an apparent swing to the Right. The Catholic M.R.P. has become the leading party. The extreme right wing P.R.L. have increased their representation in Paris where the food crisis is felt most strongly, from 2 to 7 seats, and are beginning to challenge the Communist influence. But this interpretation in political terms does not represent the real mood of the French people. What has really happened is that the people in general have shown their discontent with the socialists and communists who have failed completely

WASTE NEXT TO STARVATION

Of the 80,000 stones of Iceland cod landed at Fleetwood yesterday a large portion was unsold and was sent for conversion to cattle food. Mr. J. W. Robinson, president of the Fleetwood Fish Merchants' Association, said: "There is too much cod coming to this country. It does not pay to send this fish to sea."

Through the Press

ment. The prison governors said McCaughey refused to wear prison clothes and that decency forbade his being allowed out without clothes.

of the P.O.W.s here ask bitterly whether it is in fulfilment of our democratic promises that they

NOW YOU KNOW!

at Fleetwood yesterday a large portion was unsold and was sent for conversion to cattle food. Mr. J. W. Robinson, president of the Fleetwood Fish Merchants' Association, said: "There is too much cod coming to this country. It does seem strange, however, to send this fish, which is caught on the very borders of the starving countries of Europe, to Britain."

Manchester Guardian, 4/6/46.

SENSELESS LAW

Sentence of four years' penal servitude was passed by Mr. Justice Stable, K.C., at Carlisle Assizes on Monday when Private Ronald Crane, aged twenty-one years, attached to a holding battalion at Hoddon Castle, was brought up for sentence. The charge against him was of breaking into and entering Old Hall, Rockcliffe, and stealing jewellery and clothes to the value of £946. Articles valued at £851 had been recovered.

Supt. Harrison said accused was a native of Keighley. At the age of five he received a head injury in an accident, and he had isolated himself from company. Crane had escaped more than once from Borstal, and he had deserted five times from the Army, being arrested on each occasion for indictable offences. He was released from prison a few days before he broke into the Old Hall, Rockcliffe. He had previous convictions at Keighley, Leeds, Blackpool and other places.

His Lordship, passing sentence of four years' penal servitude, said accused's record was perfectly hopeless. It was painfully obvious that his life was quite valueless to himself, and no value whatever to anybody else.

Annandale Herald & Record, 30/5/46.

Who said that prisons reform people?

THE OFFICIAL MIND

"Pick-up Girl", the play on American juvenile delinquency for which four West End managements are angling, will not be seen by the general public unless the authoress, Elsa Shelly, agrees to the cuts made by the British censor.

The objections are to the word "abortion," and to the following dialogue:

Judge: What were the defendants wearing when you entered the bedroom?—Constable: Mr. Jenkins was wearing a ribbed undershirt, Elizabeth was wearing nothing.

This has been changed by the censor to: "They were both wearing nothing."

News Chronicle, 5/6/46.

WHO LACKED DECENCY?

Some ferment has entered the Eire political situation since the death in Maryboro Prison three weeks ago of Sean McCaughey after a hunger strike of 23 days. McCaughey, a Belfast man, was sentenced to death by the Special Military Court in 1941, but the sentence was later commuted to penal servitude for life. At the trial he was described as Adjutant General of the illegal I.R.A.

At the inquest on McCaughey, Mr. Sean McBride, appearing for the relatives, elicited that McCaughey had not been in the fresh air for four and a half years and that up to twelve or eighteen months ago he was in solitary confine-

ment. The prison governors said McCaughey refused to wear prison clothes and that decency forbade his being allowed out without clothes.

Manchester Guardian, 3/6/46.

Decency did not oblige the prison governors to treat their prisoner as a human being.

PHONEY PEACE

French forces to-day crossed the Mekong River border from French Indo-China into Siam at two points, according to Siamese Government circles here. The crossings of the frontier were said to have been made at two points in the Nakorn Phanom district in north-eastern Siam, where Siamese police forces resisted the French.

After occupying Thabo, French troops were said to be within five miles of Nongkai, the Siamese side of the Mekong River, about 300 miles north-north-east of Bangkok, it was added. It was also reported that the French were bombarding Nongkai, and that French aircraft were reconnoitering deep into Siamese territory.

Reuter Report, 27/5/46.

A few days ago newspapers reported that France is now officially at peace . . .

20th CENTURY PROGRESS

Mr. Fenner-Brockway, political secretary of the I.L.P., on his return to England on Saturday from a fortnight's visit to Germany, said that at a Hamburg hospital he saw human hair collected from the patients, and he tasted the food which included the elements produced from it. "It was like fishpaste and was served on fingers of toast," said Mr. Brockway.

Manchester Guardian, 13/5/46.

CRUMBS FROM THE RICH MAN'S TABLE

In the north of Portugal the daughter of a wealthy landowner was married. At one sitting, 250 guests consumed well over a ton of food and wine. The menu included roasted calf, 22 lbs. of salmon, 60 hakes, 16 turkeys, 60 chickens, 170 bottles of white wine, 500 litres of red wine, 90 bottles of port, 50 bottles of champagne and 30 bottles of liqueurs. After the guests had finished, 40 beggars from the district were invited to finish what was left.

Leader Magazine, 1/6/45.

PLEDGES AND REALITY

Last week in the House of Commons Mr. Stokes raised the disagreeable question of the position of German Prisoners of War working in this country for next to no pay and on an indefinite sentence. Their position is legal as long as there is no peace treaty with Germany. I know that it is true that some of those who came recently to this country from P.O.W. camps in Belgium were in a deplorable condition of undernourishment, and also that in spite of the threat of starvation in Germany, most

of the P.O.W.s here ask bitterly whether it is in fulfilment of our democratic promises that they cannot go back to their wives, after the war is over. It may be that, physically, their conditions are better than they would be in Germany. But they do not readily believe stories of hunger in Germany, nor, in the absence of any promise of a date on which they can return, will such questions affect their minds. It is comic, too, that they live under strict Prussian discipline when the Allied pledge is to demilitarise Germans. A proper inquiry is needed.

Critic in *The New Statesman*, 1/6/46.

IF CHILDREN WERE DOGS . . .

More prime beef than you can get for yourself in a week is being fed to a dog in one day to aid Britain's fastest-growing gambling industry.

Enough bread, milk and eggs to nourish two children is placed before one dog each week.

To supply England's increasing demand for racing greyhounds at swollen prices, Irish breeders take no chance on making their dogs sturdy, strong-boned.

In contrast to the foods fed to racing dogs in this country—where only meat condemned as unfit for human consumption is permitted, and milk, eggs and bread are banned entirely—is this diet given me yesterday by a Dublin racing expert as typical of that fed daily to dogs in Eire:

One pound best beef, usually minced;

At least half a pint of milk;

One or more fresh eggs mixed with 2lb. of bread; and

A pint of bone soup.

Meat and milk, rationed in a Britain aiding others, are available in Eire for dogs in unlimited quantities.

Daily Mirror, 25/5/46.

COULDN'T AFFORD DIVORCE

A woman waited until she was over sixty before she took divorce proceedings, although the trouble with her husband happened many years before.

Asked why, the old lady told the Judge she had to wait until she got the Old Age Pension before she could save the £5 deposit needed by the Poor Persons Committee.

The story is told in the annual report, issued to-day, of the Law Society on the working of the procedure for poor people.

Daily Mirror, 28/5/46.

One of the objects of divorce is, presumably, to allow one to re-marry but if people are only able to afford it when they get the Old Age Pension the chances of a second marriage seem a bit small!

NOW YOU KNOW!

Once a calling-up notice is posted, the person to whom it is sent is deemed to be enlisted whether he has received it or not, according to the National Service Act, said a witness at Wolverhampton Court yesterday.

William Lee was charged with being absentee.

The police said that calling-up papers had been posted to him, but Stipendary Magistrate Bertram Grimley said he was satisfied Lee not receive them.

He was remanded on bail after a Ministry Labour official said a notice was "served", even if the post office burned down immediately after posting.

Daily Mirror, 25/5/46.

Why doesn't the Ministry of Labour expect people to have a telephatic knowledge of their notices are served and thus save paper and labour?

UNDILUTED CULTURE

The *New Yorker* tells the story of a fascinating new American venture in publishing. A novel type of super-magazine, it appears, is to be launched next September (subscription, \$1 a year) containing nothing but advertising. "magazine," the *New Yorker* comments, "that at last shaken itself free from the stultifying grip, the costly monkeyshines, and the embarrassing opinions of artists, writers, and editors."

P.S. The new magazine calls itself *American Culture*.

Tribune, 31/5/46.

CONQUERORS' CLEMENCY

HERFORD (Westphalia), Wednesday.—German has been sentenced to death by a British military court in Hamburg following the discovery of 14 rifles, a machine-gun, ammunition and daggers in an air-raid shelter at Nienmuenster.

Reuter, 5/6/46.

IN HITLER'S FOOTSTEPS

Tito knew that the education of children from the age of six upwards was of the utmost importance to the continued success of his régime. Hitler and Mussolini had the same idea not long ago.

Before Tito's régime was installed, there existed in Yugoslavia, as in other democratic free countries, a very simple Primer, from which the children learned to read and write names of ordinary everyday objects, such as flowers, animals, and so on. For example, the letter 'A' had a drawing of a table (*astal*) with the sentence, 'The table is empty.' In Tito's Primer we find the letter 'A' illustrated by drawing a fighter aircraft with a red star, and of a Partisan girl with a red star on her cap, shaping the mouth for the letter 'A'.

Withdrawal from Egypt

From a Comrade)

utilitarian imperialists of the Labour Party scrapped convention and decided to follow a new policy under which foreign investments in Egypt will not suffer.

The Egyptian Premier, Ismail Sidky Pasha declared in his speech to Parliament that the moment he heard of the Labour victory in the General Elections he telegraphed to his colleagues that the new British Government, whose principles were those of justice and equity, would give satisfaction to Egypt, and he praised Mr. Bevin's ideals. Within a couple of days of his speech, it so happened that Yussef El-Mudaack, Mr. Bevin's opposite number in the Egyptian Trade Union Movement—the recognised leader of Egyptian Labour, who represented it at the International Workers Conference in Paris a few months ago—was arrested and charged with propagating "dangerous ideas": the social democratic principles of the British Labour Movement!

The followers of Sidky Pasha are voicing a belief in the British Labour Party which they do not extend to the Egyptian Labour movement, because they want full power for themselves. When they get it, it is likely that the nationalist issue, which has obscured Egyptian policy for so long, will give way to a direct class issue between the fellaheen living in dirt, squalor and poverty and the industrial proletariat of the towns on the one hand, and the "Effendi"—the landlords and capitalists—on the other hand. A serious economic crisis has already hit Alexandria where unemployment figures have skyrocketed following the removal of British supply bases and establishments where thousands of Egyptians were employed. The cultivated lands of Egypt are crowded with a population too large for them, and thousands are hanging on the

coat-tails of the Army establishments as direct employed personnel or with a living derived one way or another from the soldiers stationed in Egypt.

The steady growth of unemployment in the towns may bring contact between the town proletariat and the exploited fellaheen. If this happens, the class issue will be for once a serious factor in Egyptian politics, which all Sidky Pasha's claims of having got rid of the troops by "successful diplomacy" or all the Wafdists claims of having got rid of the British by a few noisy students' catcalls, will not be able to obscure.

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

George Woodcock:	
ANARCHY OR CHAOS	2/6
NEW LIFE TO THE LAND	6d.
RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY	3d.
HOMES OR HOVELS?	6d.
ANARCHISM AND MORALITY	2d.
WHAT IS ANARCHISM?	1d.
Peter Kropotkin:	
THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE	1/-
THE WAGE SYSTEM	3d.
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT	3d.
SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS	8/6
(Chosen by Herbert Read)	
Errico Malatesta:	
ANARCHY	3d.
VOTE—WHAT FOR?	1d.
Herbert Read:	
THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM	1/-
THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN	1/-
John Olday:	
THE MARCH TO DEATH (Cartoons)	1/6
THE LIFE WE LIVE—	
THE DEATH WE DIE (Drawings)	2/6
William Godwin:	
SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL JUSTICE	3d.
ON LAW	1d.
M. L. Berneri:	
WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA	1/-
C. Berneri:	
KROPOTKIN—HIS FEDERALIST IDEAS	2d.
Alexander Berkman:	
A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM	1/-
John Hewetson:	
ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI	6d.
W. McCartney:	
THE FRENCH COOKS' SYNDICATE	3d.

DEMOCRACY or DICTATORSHIP?

We are often told we must choose between "dictatorship" and "democracy". However much we may be tempted to choose "democracy" because it sounds like freedom, we have to remember that *all* politicians endeavour to show themselves as democratic and the other side as dictatorial. Napoleon, who is portrayed on the Continent as a liberator attacked by reactionary forces, is remembered in England and Russia as a conqueror who wanted to rule the world. Hitler claimed his dictatorial movement was a movement of "the German workers", and Stalin in Russia masks an equally dictatorial state with communist phrases; both of them claiming at one period or another to be surrounded by plutocratic enemies.

However, anyone genuinely anxious to seek the truth can tell that Nazi Germany, Stalinist Russia, and other one-party states are not free, for the simple reason that the people have obviously no power to change their rulers. But they think that in a democratic country (that is to say, one in which Governments submit themselves at intervals to the electorate) there is freedom.

This is not the case. To be free a people ought to be able to decide major issues for itself, at the very least, instead of which it is obliged to leave everything in the hands of representatives elected on perhaps quite different grounds. The Government elected in 1935 on the sole issue of what to do in the Abyssinian dispute, had no "mandate" from the electorate over the Munich Pact of 1938, or the outbreak of war in 1939. These decisions are too important for the ruling class to entrust to the electorate. They allow them to choose between M.P.s—an excellent safety-valve to avoid a feeling of oppression—and let the people think they have the Government they want, but they do not let them shape policy in any way.

"Choosing between M.P.s" may appear to give an opportunity for the people's will to be felt, but the issues are so far and wide as to make it a farce. At the last Election, in one constituency it was possible to choose between a Labour man who specialised in denouncing Munich and a National candidate whose sole

parliamentary interest was opposing Sunday cinemas. How Sunday cinema-goers who supported appeasement, or belligerent church-goers got on, we never discovered. In other constituencies, the issues were sometimes purely personal (in one London constituency, two candidates fought on the issue of who had dodged most during the war), in others, people were offered all sorts of reasons why they should show their disapproval of Mr. Churchill or Herbert Morrison or Lord Beaverbrook or Professor Laski. Any reason, in fact, bar the problems of food and demobilisation and housing and war, which have since arisen—and, indeed, they could not have done since, as Opposition voting (particularly in the House of Lords) now shows, there was very little difference between the main parties on the main points. The choice people have in democracy is "Who shall rule us?", and *not* "How shall we live?" But even then it is doubtful if we have so much advantage, because the real rulers are not the M.P.s who can make laws attempting to regulate the economic system, but find themselves obliged to curb their resolves to fit in with the industrial ruling-class scheme of things. The real rulers are those who own the land, the tools and the men.

The only privileges we have in a democracy not present in the majority of dictatorships are such things as the freedom of speech, press, and assembly. But these things are not, as is sometimes imagined, what is graciously bestowed upon us by the Government. Everyone who has had them has gained such privileges by fighting their own ruling class for them, and at every pretext, States try to take away what they never granted willingly. It is up to us, however, to defend such elementary principles against all attacks, and to make use of them to institute real freedom, which is neither based on dictatorial force or democratic fraud, but on freedom from Government—on the absence of restraint or oppression, and a system of society in which there are no rulers, but the people take their destinies into their own hands, and control their fate themselves, not relying on professional politicians. That is all that Anarchists are working for.

A. M.

Milk Strike

wages of the bottling staff up to a subsistence level. Now, when more men are available and U.D. employees are returning from the services, the return to 8-hour shifts means a wage of £4. 12. 6d. a week. How can a man be expected to keep his family on that there days? We have 100 per cent. union membership, but what good is that doing if the Union won't look after the men's interests?"

On Tuesday, 4th June, the firm and the

The French Political Situation

(continued from page 1)

to suppress the black market, and both shops and restaurant sell freely at black market prices even to strangers.

In these conditions it will be seen that the worker with 6,000 francs a month is bound to live on the starvation line, particularly if he has a family. The worker can no longer afford any pleasures. He cannot go to the cinema or

solve the food crisis and who have steadily increased the restrictions on individual freedom from which the French people suffer. It is significant that the right wing made effective use of such slogans as "down with red Fascism".

Even more important was the fact that nearly 20% of the people abstained from voting. In a country like France where political interests are high at present, this means much more than in

member in the Egyptian Trade Union Movement—the recognised leader of Egyptian Labour, who represented it at the International Workers Conference in Paris a few months ago—was arrested and charged with propagating “dangerous ideas”: the social democratic principles of the British Labour Movement!

The followers of Sidky Pasha are voicing a belief in the British Labour Party which they do not extend to the Egyptian Labour movement, because they want full power for themselves. When they get it, it is likely that the nationalist issue, which has obscured Egyptian policy for so long, will give way to a direct class issue between the fellaheen living in dirt, squalor and poverty and the industrial proletariat of the towns on the one hand, and the “Effendi”—the landlords and capitalists—on the other hand. A serious economic crisis has already hit Alexandria where unemployment figures have skyrocketed following the removal of British supply bases and establishments where thousands of Egyptians were employed. The cultivated lands of Egypt are crowded with a population too large for them, and thousands are hanging on the

Milk Strike

wages of the bottling staff up to a subsistence level. Now, when more men are available and U.D. employees are returning from the services, the return to 8-hour shifts means a wage of £4. 12. 6d. a week. How can a man be expected to keep his family on that there days? We have 100 per cent. union membership, but what good is that doing if the Union won't look after the men's interests?"

On Tuesday, 4th June, the firm and the T. & G.W.U. agreed on an increase of 7/- a week which brings the men's weekly wage up to £4. 19. 6. It is certain that but for the prompt strike action of the workers, negotiations would not have been started yet, and an agreement, even if only partially satisfactory, would not have been reached in one day. A parallel can easily be seen between the situation of the milk workers and that of the builders and dockers last year. Wages during the war kept pace, to an extent, with the cost of living, not because of basic increases, but because of the long hours worked. The return to normal working hours puts the worker in a very serious plight. The strike becomes necessary, not to make the employers negotiate but to force the unions to do so. How much longer will the workers tolerate such an absurd and shameful situation?

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

George Woodcock:	
ANARCHY OR CHAOS	2/6
NEW LIFE TO THE LAND	6d.
RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY	3d.
HOMES OR HOVELS?	6d.
ANARCHISM AND MORALITY	2d.
WHAT IS ANARCHISM?	1d.
Peter Kropotkin:	
THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE	1/-
THE WAGE SYSTEM	3d.
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT	3d.
SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS	8/6
(Chosen by Herbert Read)	
Errico Malatesta:	
ANARCHY	3d.
VOTE—WHAT FOR?	1d.
Herbert Read:	
THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM	1/-
THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN	1/-
John Olday:	
THE MARCH TO DEATH (Cartoons)	1/6
THE LIFE WE LIVE—	
THE DEATH WE DIE (Drawings)	2/6
William Godwin:	
SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL JUSTICE	3d.
ON LAW	1d.
M. L. Berneri:	
WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA	1/-
C. Berneri:	
KROPOTKIN—HIS FEDERALIST IDEAS	2d.
Alexander Berkman:	
A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM	1/-
John Hewetson:	
ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI	6d.
W. McCartney:	
THE FRENCH COOKS' SYNDICATE	3d.
"Equity":	
THE STRUGGLE IN THE FACTORY	3d.
Icarus:	
THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT	6d.
Anton Ciliga:	
THE KRONSTADT REVOLT	2d.
Marcus Graham:	
THE ISSUES IN THE PRESENT WAR	6d.
Gaston Leval:	
COLLECTIVES IN SPAIN	1d.

When ordering by post, please add postage:
Prices up to 3d.—postage 1d.
3d. to 6d.—2d.
6d. to 1/-—3d.

27 RED LION ST., LONDON, W.C1.

Russia, and other one-party states are not free, for the simple reason that the people have obviously no power to change their rulers. But they think that in a democratic country (that is to say, one in which Governments submit themselves at intervals to the electorate) there is freedom.

• This is not the case. To be free a people ought to be able to decide major issues for itself, at the very least, instead of which it is obliged to leave everything in the hands of representatives elected on perhaps quite different grounds. The Government elected in 1935 on the sole issue of what to do in the Abyssinian dispute, had no “mandate” from the electorate over the Munich Pact of 1938, or the outbreak of war in 1939. These decisions are too important for the ruling class to entrust to the electorate. They allow them to choose between M.P.s—an excellent safety-valve to avoid a feeling of oppression—and let the people think they have the Government they want, but they do not let them shape policy in any way.

“Choosing between M.P.s” may appear to give an opportunity for the people's will to be felt, but the issues are so far and wide as to make it a farce. At the last Election, in one constituency it was possible to choose between a Labour man who specialised in denouncing Munich and a National candidate whose sole

The French Political Situation

(continued from page 1)

to suppress the black market, and both shops and restaurant sell freely at black market prices even to strangers.

In these conditions it will be seen that the worker with 6,000 francs a month is bound to live on the starvation line, particularly if he has a family. The worker can no longer afford any pleasures. He cannot go to the cinema or the café, can smoke rarely and in general he lives in a state of monotonous penury, trying to make ends meet by all kinds of economies and devices to obtain a little more food.

It has been this situation which has been the dominant factor in the recent French elections. These have been marked by an apparent swing to the Right. The Catholic M.R.P. has become the leading party. The extreme right wing P.R.L. have increased their representation in Paris where the food crisis is felt most strongly, from 2 to 7 seats, and are beginning to challenge the Communist influence. But this interpretation in political terms does not represent the real mood of the French people. What has really happened is that the people in general have shown their discontent with the socialists and communists who have failed completely to

rule us?”, and not “How shall we live?” But even then it is doubtful if we have so much advantage, because the real rulers are not the M.P.s who can make laws attempting to regulate the economic system, but find themselves obliged to curb their resolves to fit in with the industrial ruling-class scheme of things. The real rulers are those who own the land, the tools and the men.

The only privileges we have in a democracy not present in the majority of dictatorships are such things as the freedom of speech, press, and assembly. But these things are not, as is sometimes imagined, what is graciously bestowed upon us by the Government. Everyone who has had them has gained such privileges by fighting their own ruling class for them, and at every pretext, States try to take away what they never granted willingly. It is up to us, however, to defend such elementary principles against all attacks, and to make use of them to institute real freedom, which is neither based on dictatorial force or democratic fraud, but on freedom from Government—on the absence of restraint or oppression, and a system of society in which there are no rulers, but the people take their destinies into their own hands, and control their fate themselves, not relying on professional politicians. That is all that Anarchists are working for.

A.M.

solve the food crisis and who have steadily increased the restrictions on individual freedom from which the French people suffer. It is significant that the right wing made effective use of such slogans as “down with red Fascism”.

Even more important was the fact that nearly 20% of the people abstained from voting. In a country like France where political interests are high at present, this means much more than indifference. It means a definite feeling of distrust for all parties—a distrust which will be undoubtedly justified by events. Neither the rival authoritarians of the C.P. nor the P.R.L. nor the mock-democrats of the Centre are likely to do anything to change the class and corruption of French politics. Only a really strong libertarian movement among the workers can do that.

At present the Anarchist movement in France is small in comparison with the political parties, but it is growing steadily, and its weekly paper *Le Libertaire* has a circulation of 80,000 copies. It represents a live nucleus around which the growing disillusionment of the workers can crystallise into a definite movement of revolt and positive social action.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

Through the Press

NOW YOU KNOW!

ment. The prison governors said McCaughey refused to wear prison clothes and that decency

of the P.o.W.s here ask bitterly whether it is in fulfilment of our democratic promises that they

Before Tito, letter ‘T’ was illustrated by the drawing of a telephone with the caption, ‘The telephone rings.’ In the New Primer, letter ‘T’ is illustrated by a Russian super-tank, complete with red star, and another picture depicting a mother, child, and Partisan soldier, with the words: ‘Father and Mita. Mother and Moma,’ ‘Mother, father, have a red star.’

In the Reader on the first page we see a

ment. The prison governors said McCaughey refused to wear prison clothes and that decency forbade his being allowed out without clothes.

Manchester Guardian, 3/6/46.

Decency did not oblige the prison governors to treat their prisoner as a human being.

PHONEY PEACE

French forces to-day crossed the Mekong River border from French Indo-China into Siam at two points, according to Siamese Government circles here. The crossings of the frontier were said to have been made at two points in the Nakom Phanom district in north-eastern Siam, where Siamese police forces resisted the French.

After occupying Thabo, French troops were said to be within five miles of Nongkai, the Siamese side of the Mekong River, about 300 miles north-north-east of Bangkok, it was added. It was also reported that the French were bombarding Nongkai, and that French aircraft were reconnoitering deep into Siamese territory.

Reuter Report, 27/5/46.

A few days ago newspapers reported that France is now officially at peace . . .

20th CENTURY PROGRESS

Mr. Fenner-Brockway, political secretary of the I.L.P., on his return to England on Saturday from a fortnight's visit to Germany, said that at a Hamburg hospital he saw human hair collected from the patients, and he tasted the food which included the elements produced from it. "It was like fishpaste and was served on fingers of toast," said Mr. Brockway.

Manchester Guardian, 13/5/46.

CRUMBS FROM THE RICH MAN'S TABLE

In the north of Portugal the daughter of a wealthy landowner was married. At one sitting, 250 guests consumed well over a ton of food and wine. The menu included roasted calf, 22 lbs. of salmon, 60 hakes, 16 turkeys, 60 chickens, 170 bottles of white wine, 500 litres of red wine, 90 bottles of port, 50 bottles of champagne and 30 bottles of liqueurs. After the guests had finished, 40 beggars from the district were invited to finish what was left.

Leader Magazine, 1/6/45.

PLEDGES AND REALITY

Last week in the House of Commons Mr. Stokes raised the disagreeable question of the position of German Prisoners of War working in this country for next to no pay and on an indefinite sentence. Their position is legal as long as there is no peace treaty with Germany. I know that it is true that some of those who came recently to this country from P.O.W. camps in Belgium were in a deplorable condition of undernourishment, and also that in spite of the threat of starvation in Germany, most

of the P.O.W.s here ask bitterly whether it is in fulfilment of our democratic promises that they cannot go back to their wives, after the war is over. It may be that, physically, their conditions are better than they would be in Germany. But they do not readily believe stories of hunger in Germany, nor, in the absence of any promise of a date on which they can return, will such questions affect their minds. It is comic, too, that they live under strict Prussian discipline when the Allied pledge is to demilitarise Germans. A proper inquiry is needed.

Critic in *The New Statesman*, 1/6/46.

IF CHILDREN WERE DOGS . . .

More prime beef than you can get for yourself in a week is being fed to a dog in one day to aid Britain's fastest-growing gambling industry.

Enough bread, milk and eggs to nourish two children is placed before one dog each week.

To supply England's increasing demand for racing greyhounds at swollen prices, Irish breeders take no chance on making their dogs sturdy, strong-boned.

In contrast to the foods fed to racing dogs in this country—where only meat condemned as unfit for human consumption is permitted, and milk, eggs and bread are banned entirely—is this diet given me yesterday by a Dublin racing expert as typical of that fed daily to dogs in Eire:

One pound best beef, usually minced;

At least half a pint of milk;

One or more fresh eggs mixed with 2lb. of bread; and

A pint of bone soup.

Meat and milk, rationed in a Britain aiding others, are available in Eire for dogs in unlimited quantities.

Daily Mirror, 25/5/46.

COULDN'T AFFORD DIVORCE

A woman waited until she was over sixty before she took divorce proceedings, although the trouble with her husband happened many years before.

Asked why, the old lady told the Judge she had to wait until she got the Old Age Pension before she could save the £5 deposit needed by the Poor Persons Committee.

The story is told in the annual report, issued to-day, of the Law Society on the working of the procedure for poor people.

Daily Mirror, 28/5/46.

One of the objects of divorce is, presumably, to allow one to re-marry but if people are only able to afford it when they get the Old Age Pension the chances of a second marriage seem a bit small!

NOW YOU KNOW!

Once a calling-up notice is posted, the person to whom it is sent is deemed to be enlisted whether he has received it or not, according to the National Service Act, said a witness at a Wolverhampton Court yesterday.

William Lee was charged with being an absentee.

The police said that calling-up papers had been posted to him, but Stipendary Magistrate Bertram Grimley said he was satisfied Lee did not receive them.

He was remanded on bail after a Ministry of Labour official said a notice was "served", even if the post office burned down immediately after posting.

Daily Mirror, 25/5/46.

Why doesn't the Ministry of Labour expect people to have a telephatic knowledge that their notices are served and thus save paper and labour?

UNDILUTED CULTURE

The *New Yorker* tells the story of a fascinating new American venture in publishing. A novel type of super-magazine, it appears, is to be launched next September (subscription, \$180 a year) containing nothing but advertising. "A magazine," the *New Yorker* comments, "that has at last shaken itself free from the stultifying grip, the costly monkeyshines, and the embarrassing opinions of artists, writers, and editors."

P.S. The new magazine calls itself *American Culture*.

Tribune, 31/5/46.

CONQUERORS' CLEMENCY

HERFORD (Westphalia), Wednesday.—A German has been sentenced to death by a British military court in Hamburg following the discovery of 14 rifles, a machine-gun, ammunition, and daggers in an air-raid shelter at Neumuenster.

Reuter, 5/6/46.

IN HITLER'S FOOTSTEPS

Tito knew that the education of children from the age of six upwards was of the utmost importance to the continued success of his régime. Hitler and Mussolini had the same idea not so long ago.

Before Tito's régime was installed, there existed in Yugoslavia, as in other democratic and free countries, a very simple Primer, from which the children learned to read and write the names of ordinary everyday objects, such as flowers, animals, and so on. For example, letter 'A' had a drawing of a table (*astal*) with the sentence, 'The table is empty.' In Tito's Primer, we find the letter 'A' illustrated by drawing of fighter aircraft with a red star, and of a Partisan girl with a red star on her cap, shaping her mouth for the letter 'A'.

plete with red star, and another picture depicting a mother, child, and Partisan soldier, with the words: 'Father and Mita Mother and Moma,' 'Mother, father, have a red star.'

In the Reader on the first page we see a drawing of marching children, with a flag being carried by the leader. Underneath is written a poem glorifying Tito, as follows:

COMRADE TITO

*Comrade Tito, our white flower,
You our youth with greetings shower,
From midst our burned-out villages and towns,
The trumpet of our new-found freedom sounds.*

In Serbia Comrade Tito marches with sound of thunder,

Never again will she be torn asunder.

From the East the dawn takes its beauty,

Comrade Tito awakes his people to their duty.

World Review, June '46.

SMOOTH SPOKEN STRACHEY

When the war broke out Strachey abandoned the Communists and joined with Gollancz and Laski in a bitter denunciation of his late colleagues for their "Betrayal of the Left." He endured the London blitz as an air-raid warden. He then joined the R.A.F. as Public Relations Officer, and once more emerged as the expert publicist. In handling the Press he was sweetly reasonable. It was not long before that master of suave publicity, Air Marshal Peck, now a Governor of the B.B.C., recognised Strachey's real ability.

A critical moment was reached in the development of our bombing policy. Heavy raids on German cities caused heavy civilian casualties among German women and children. These concentrated raids might rouse the British public to objection. Strachey was put on the air. His weekly broadcasts gently took the public mind off the receiving end of the bombing attacks, and fixed it on the courage of the crews and the master plans behind the attacks.

So the outcry which Bomber Harris feared never came. Strachey believed in bombing and developed Bomber Command faith with the same invincible logic that had gone before to "Revolution by Reason," the Communist Party, and the Popular Front.

The Observer, 2/6/46.

GROUCHO AND THE LAW

When the Marxes announced *A Night in Casablanca* as the title of their new one, somebody in Warner Brothers' legal department wrote Groucho a formal note, pointing out that Warners had made a picture titled *Casablanca* and objecting to its further use. Nothing could be done legally, because a title can't be copyrighted, much less an African town name.

Groucho was equal to the occasion. As spokesman for his trio he wrote a polite letter to Warners, arguing that, if they prevented his using the word *Casablanca*, he would object to the use of their word "Brothers" in the firm's title. He pointed out, with unassailable logic, that the Marx Brothers antedated the Warner Brothers and hinted that, to him, it looked like a nice case of mild copycatting. This ended the argument.

Leader Magazine, 8/6/46.

Anarchist Commentary

ACCIDENTS IN THE ARMY

The press reported recently an accident in which an Army lorry carrying heavyweight bombs crushed several of the men in the lorry, including British soldiers and German prisoners of war. Some of those injured subsequently died. Such accidents cannot be uncommon, and a comrade describes a similar case, which, however, fortunately had no fatal consequences.

In his unit it is usual to employ German P.O.W.'s as drivers of the lorries, and when the accident occurred there was a wave of feeling among some of the men against the German drivers. But on discussion, the true position emerged, for our comrade pointed out that responsibility could not be laid on the driver, and all the men agreed that the P.O.W.'s were exceedingly good drivers who could certainly not be charged with incompetence.

These lorries carry ammunition, and are supposed to be limited to 3 tons. Actually, everything is so rushed that the lorries are loaded up to 5 tons, and the responsibility for seeing that all is well lies with the checkers, who are English soldiers. If the driver were British, responsibility on the road would be his, and he could object to this overloading and refuse to drive such loads. But such a course is not open to the German P.O.W. driver. Although the actual responsibility is still his, as driver, he cannot object to conditions which may seem to him to constitute a danger, for he must obey orders.

In this case, the lorry overturned, and four members of the Pioneer Corps, the loaders, were injured, one being concussed and two sustaining broken ribs and bruising.

If a Court of Enquiry is held, it will doubtless condemn the overloading of the lorry. But that will not alter the fact that such accidents occur because the men who ought to have the freedom to control the conditions under which they work, because they are actually responsible for the safety of the load and the passengers, are deprived of that freedom because they are prisoners of war.

The whole incident, which is doubtless only one among many, is an illustration of how all such mishaps could be avoided if workers had full control over their work.

VICTORY CELEBRATIONS

The victory celebrations passed off in London without incident and without fervour. It can be fairly said that opinion was almost unanimous in stigmatizing the grandiose preparations. Men and women looked sourly on the work of erecting temporary structures which involved considerable numbers of workers, and quantities of timber and other "unobtainable" materials. Everywhere one heard the comment that it was wicked to divert labour and materials to such pageantry flim-flam when thousands of workers

were unable to get the most elementary repairs to their houses, and many other thousands were unable to get houses at all because of the building crisis.

The parade itself seems to have been calm enough. But it is encouraging to be able to report that the Military Police were hooted and booed by the crowds.

British Exports Up

From the *News Review* for May 23rd, we learn that Detective-Inspector William Whitehead who arrested Dr. Alan Nunn May, has flown to Canada on a mission. He will give the Canadians details of his investigations in Britain into the activities of a secret agent.

We think that such products of our country should be exported to the highest possible limit. Britain is noted for her very efficient Gestapo and the workers would be able to enjoy a little real freedom! Maybe Canada could send us in return something that would be of use to the community.

Shinwell and Socialism

The members of the Labour Party have always maintained that they stand for the peoples' interest, so it is enlightening to note that Mr. Shinwell, Minister of Fuel, has said a mouthful that should dispel once and for all that rather foolish idea that some individuals have of believing that they stand to benefit by Labours' rule. The *Daily Telegraph* of May 28th, reports a speech of the Minister who said, "We have got to promote a better understanding between management and men. They have a mutual interest and together they can eradicate the bitterness with which this (coal) industry has been surrounded for so long. *Though I do not subscribe to the doctrinaire conception of so-called 'workers' control', I am convinced that the men with their qualifications and knowledge of the industry must play a larger part in administration, particularly as regards production. Pit production committees, based on the men, the technicians and the officials, including the manager, must become a permanent part of the industry.*"

Yet it was Shinwell, who two weeks previously, had refused in the House of Commons to withdraw a remark he had made in a week-end speech to the effect that "For a mine manager to contest a seat in the Tory interest against a Labour man in a mining constituency is a first-class piece of impudence. Mine managers are excellent men in their own department and I have the highest regard for them as technicians. When it comes to social questions they appear to know as much about them as a pig does about a piano."

Yes, it is quite alright for managers to see

that the workers are exploited to the fullest, but when it comes to sharing in the political hog-trough, then that is another matter—managers must learn their station in life!!

The Iron Heel

Very recently the workers in this country heard and read in their papers of the dramatic events which occurred in the island prison of Alcatraz, the dreaded penitentiary that has featured in many Hollywood film stories. But this was no fiction, it was stark real life.

A convict serving a sentence of twenty-five years had wrested a gun away from one of the guards and was thus able to release some of his comrades. The riot alarm was given and the released convicts opened fire on their attackers with guns that they had obtained from the prison armoury. The accounts circulated in this country read like a story of a battle. The convicts were supposed to have had machine-guns in use. According to the *Daily Telegraph* of May 4th., "the Marines had opened fire with 60-millimetre mortars. Flame-throwers and cases of T.N.T. were brought up for use if needed. Gas-masks were issued to the besiegers."

The siege held out for three days and when at last the convicts were overwhelmed by sheer numbers, it was found that "they had one rifle, one revolver and 71 rounds of ammunition, and that only 15 men had taken part in the revolt. They had held off 132 marines and guards with light and heavy machine-guns, rifles, pistols and grenade-throwing rifles, dynamite patch charges and smoke bombs, not to mention several mortars." (*Daily Telegraph*, May 6th).

On Easter Sunday came news of a mutiny at the San Vittore prison in Italy where a similar pitched battle took place between the imprisoned men and the authorities. Sentences up to 30 years penal servitude have subsequently been passed on the "leaders" of the four-day revolt by a Milan court.

Such savage reprisals against helpless men indicate very clearly the very real fears that the ruling classes all over the world have when any attempt is made by the downtrodden people who rise in revolt against the inhuman conditions under which they are forced to live. Any one who read Jack London's *Iron Heel* will know of his accounts there of the ruthless efforts that were made by the ruling classes to crush out rebellion and it seems that his prophetic story is becoming reality.

While a small minority in society hold power over the rest of mankind, we must expect to hear more of this kind of thing, as the masses steadily begin to fight back against the world tyranny that is being evolved out of the ruins of the war. When men and women lift up their heads and hands to fight for Liberty, that is an unforgivable sin in the eyes of rulers and the most brutal measures will be launched against the common people in an effort to maintain the power that is wielded in the interests of the few.

The Capital

With the world-wide famine ever-present in the news, and every effort apparently being made to organise food supplies to the best advantage, it is incredible that such a state of affairs described below should be in existence. It taken from the *Observer* for May 26, in "Pergrine's Notebook": "What an uncanny register of follies the life of Europe presents to-day! The student of social pathology could easily fill volumes with it. He would not have to exert himself to prove that one year after the surrender, the world shows an ominous resemblance to a lunatic asylum, the inmates of which suffer from a fatal loss of the instinct of self-preservation. Here are only a few illustrations of the diseased condition of international society, picked at random from the events and reports of one week. Famine stalks the Continent. UNRR is running out of supplies. Official delegations knock at the doors of the Combined Food Board in Washington with desperate requests for food. Heads of states exchange letters, asking of another what their countries can do to relieve the plight of many nations. Rations are cut and infant mortality has risen steeply in Europe."

At the same time, some European countries are anxious to get rid of their own surplus of food; and they are unable to find buyers. Danish producers of meat and bacon worry because their goods are *unsaleable*. Stocks of bacon have to be put into cold storage. Farmers have been warned not to slaughter cattle, because Denmark is now afflicted with a glut of meat. The catch of fish in Danish waters has been cut to one tenth of normal. Swedish fish-merchants, too, do not know what to do with this year's catch. They offered to sell it to the starving countries of Europe at half the market price. Since the offer has not been accepted they have decided to throw about two-thirds of the catch back into the sea. The northern seas have yielded a fabulously rich catch this year, but Nature and the Danish and Swedish fishermen have not betimes taken into account the fact that the balances of payment of the starving countries come first and their starving populations only next." (Our italics).

Here is capitalist benevolence portrayed in its real light! Here is the cold factual admission by a staunch upholder of the present system that money-making comes before saving lives. All the protestations of "We are doing all we can", are revealed as so much hypocritical cant which food officials of all countries utter so that the public may be led into believing that no effort is being spared to alleviate the suffering masses.

From a Danish contact, we learn that Danish butter is being shipped to Harwich, where it changes hands financially, and is then shipped back to the Continent. And they say

all is well as with the English soldiers. If the driver were British, responsibility on the road would be his, and he could object to this overloading and refuse to drive such loads. But such a course is not open to the German P.O.W. driver. Although the actual responsibility is still his, as driver, he cannot object to conditions which may seem to him to constitute a danger, for he must obey orders.

In this case, the lorry overturned, and four members of the Pioneer Corps, the loaders, were injured, one being concussed and two sustaining broken ribs and bruising.

If a Court of Enquiry is held, it will doubtless condemn the overloading of the lorry. But that will not alter the fact that such accidents occur because the men who ought to have the freedom to control the conditions under which they work, because they are actually responsible for the safety of the load and the passengers, are deprived of that freedom because they are prisoners of war.

The whole incident, which is doubtless only one among many, is an illustration of how all such mishaps could be avoided if workers had full control over their work.

VICTORY CELEBRATIONS

The victory celebrations passed off in London without incident and without fervour. It can be fairly said that opinion was almost unanimous in stigmatizing the grandiose preparations. Men and women looked sourly on the work of erecting temporary structures which involved considerable numbers of workers, and quantities of timber and other "unobtainable" materials. Everywhere one heard the comment that it was wicked to divert labour and materials to such pageantry flim-flam when thousands of workers

Shinwell and Socialism

The members of the Labour Party have always maintained that they stand for the peoples' interest, so it is enlightening to note that Mr. Shinwell, Minister of Fuel, has said a mouthful that should dispel once and for all that rather foolish idea that some individuals have of believing that they stand to benefit by Labours' rule. The *Daily Telegraph* of May 28th, reports a speech of the Minister who said, "We have got to promote a better understanding between *management and men*. They have a mutual interest and together they can eradicate the bitterness with which this (coal) industry has been surrounded for so long. *Though I do not subscribe to the doctrinaire conception of so-called 'workers' control*', I am convinced that the men with their qualifications and knowledge of the industry must play a larger part in administration, particularly as regards production. Pit production committees, based on the men, the technicians and the officials, *including the manager*, must become a permanent part of the industry."

Yet it was Shinwell, who two weeks previously, had refused in the House of Commons to withdraw a remark he had made in a week-end speech to the effect that "For a mine manager to contest a seat in the Tory interest against a Labour man in a mining constituency is a first-class piece of impudence. Mine managers are excellent men in their own department and I have the highest regard for them as technicians. When it comes to social questions they appear to know as much about them as a pig does about a piano."

Yes, it is quite alright for managers to see

The siege held out for three days and when at last the convicts were overwhelmed by sheer numbers, it was found that "they had one rifle, one revolver and 71 rounds of ammunition, and that only 15 men had taken part in the revolt. They had held off 132 marines and guards with light and heavy machine-guns, rifles, pistols and grenade-throwing rifles, dynamite patch charges and smoke bombs, not to mention several mortars." (*Daily Telegraph*, May 6th).

On Easter Sunday came news of a mutiny at the San Vittore prison in Italy where a similar pitched battle took place between the imprisoned men and the authorities. Sentences up to 30 years penal servitude have subsequently been passed on the "leaders" of the four-day revolt by a Milan court.

Such savage reprisals against helpless men indicate very clearly the very real fears that the ruling classes all over the world have when any attempt is made by the downtrodden people who rise in revolt against the inhuman conditions under which they are forced to live. Any one who read Jack London's *Iron Heel* will know of his accounts there of the ruthless efforts that were made by the ruling classes to crush out rebellion and it seems that his prophetic story is becoming reality.

While a small minority in society hold power over the rest of mankind, we must expect to hear more of this kind of thing, as the masses steadily begin to fight back against the world tyranny that is being evolved out of the ruins of the war. When men and women lift up their heads and hands to fight for Liberty, that is an unforgivable sin in the eyes of rulers and the most brutal measures will be launched against the common people in an effort to maintain the power that is wielded in the interests of the few.

another what their countries can do to relieve the plight of many nations. Rations are cut and infant mortality has risen steeply in Europe.

At the same time, some European countries are anxious to get rid of their own surplus of food; and they are unable to find buyers. Danish producers of meat and bacon worry because their goods are *unsaleable*. Stocks of bacon have to be put into cold storage. Farmers have been warned not to slaughter cattle, because Denmark is now afflicted with a glut of meat. The catch of fish in Danish waters has been cut to one tenth of normal. Swedish fish-merchants, too, do not know what to do with this year's catch. They offered to sell it to the starving countries of Europe at half the market price. Since the offer has not been accepted they have decided to throw about two-thirds of the catch back into the sea. The northern seas have yielded a fabulously rich catch this year, but Nature and the Danish and Swedish fishermen *have not betimes taken into account the fact that the balances of payment of the starving countries come first and their starving populations only next.*" (Our italics).

Here is capitalist benevolence portrayed in its real light! Here is the cold factual admission by a staunch upholder of the present system that money-making comes before saving lives. All the protestations of "We are doing all we can", are revealed as so much hypocritical cant which food officials of all countries utter so that the public may be led into believing that no effort is being spared to alleviate the suffering masses.

From a Danish contact, we learn that Danish butter is being shipped to Harwich, where it changes hands financially, and is then shipped back to the Continent. And they say that anarchy means chaos!

On May 27th, the *Daily Telegraph* carried the now familiar headline "Fish dumped in the sea", and under it "Only one-third of the herring fleet will be allowed to put to sea to-day because the catches landed during the past week have been greater than can be dealt with on shore. Large quantities have been dumped into the sea. Herrings being landed at North Shields are being made into low-grade cattle food and guano. The industry blames slow rail transport and bad distribution arrangements for the situation."

Miracles of organisation and supply could be achieved during a war when killing was the order of the day, but when it comes to the humanitarian purpose of saving life, that seems to be impossible. It was Aneurin Bevan, who said, before the General Election, "Great Britain is practically made of coal, and entirely surrounded by fish, and it takes a Tory administration to produce an acute shortage of both at the same time". But the Labour Government has been in power now for 10 months and the results still seem to be the same—muddle and waste. Daily, it becomes clearer that the "Peoples' Government" intends to act like a

GERMANS AS "DISPLACED PERSONS" Refugees from Poland and East Russia

When the papers showed the spiritless columns of refugees across Europe, one's sympathy was aroused because they were homeless and exiles, without food and shelter. It mattered little that their "nationality"—that grim abstraction that so often to-day settles a fate of starvation and persecution upon men and women and their children—was, say, Spanish or Czech or Polish. And the same is true now, when it is the German farmers and their families who are driven out of East Prussia or Sudetenland by the fiat of the Russian government or its subsidiaries.

It is reported that the British Military Government authorities are now trying, by means of "Operation Swallow", to provide some kind of accommodation for one and a half million Germans driven from the former German provinces which have now provisionally been allotted to Poland. 350,000 to 400,000 have so far arrived by ship or cattle trucks in the railway, mostly women, children and old people, all of them torn up from their homes, and compelled to leave behind them their possessions. It is they, but not the owners of industry, who are being expropriated; chiefly workers, for all the inhabitants of these areas are uprooted, and the bulk of the population of any area in the world are workers, to whom their few possessions are

They Hope To Return

For such displaced persons—displaced, be it remembered, not by the Nazis, but by the Potsdam Allies—for them, such re-settlement is no sort of home provision. None of them can bring themselves to believe that the separation from their houses and their home districts will be permanent. They all dream of a return "one day". These hopes are supported, according to the *Observer's* correspondent, "by the claim that the Poles (or, in East Prussia, the Russians) are not actually taking over the evacuated lands, but leaving them empty: an allegation which, so far as East Prussia is concerned, was partly confirmed to me by Swedish Red Cross officials in Stockholm. According to them, large stretches of East Prussia are at present unpopulated, with intact villages stripped of any

human population, and miles and miles of fertile land untilled." And he goes on to comment: "It is, of course, a tragic and hardly foreseen consequence of the Potsdam decisions that one of Europe's most important grain-belts is thus being put out of production just at a time of stringent world shortage." Believers in governments and Potsdam conferences may "hardly foresee" such results; but to Anarchists they are only a repetition of the age-long suffering which the workers of the world endure from the mistakes and indifference of their governments. For us, in England, it is not possible to let our minds dwell for long on these miseries of the continental refugees, they are too painful. But to the extent that we tolerate and even justify the acts and existence of our government (whether Tory or Labour) we share in the responsibility for such misery.

FOREIGN LIBERTARIAN PRESS

Freedom Press receives for distribution in this country several papers published by Anarchist groups.

a monthly theoretical review.

In French we receive regular quantities of *Le*

Of perhaps greater interest to Anarchists is a small paper called *W/ku?* published in New York

...otted to Poland. 350,000 to 400,000 have so far arrived by ship or cattle trucks in the railway, mostly women, children and old people, all of them torn up from their homes, and compelled to leave behind them their possessions. It is they, but not the owners of industry, who are being expropriated; chiefly workers, for all the inhabitants of these areas are uprooted, and the bulk of the population of any area in the world are workers, to whom their few possessions are of tremendous and tragic consequence.

Already the re-settlement areas are choked with this first third of the expected consignment of human commodity. They are billeted on farms in the various reception areas, and many of these now contain more refugees than indigenous population. Inevitably the newcomers are looked upon with disfavour, even hostility. The existing food situation is so awful that the influx of new mouths simply means increasing struggle and increasing casualties.

Ill-Health in Germany

3-Power Committee's Report

As the inevitable result of the ration cuts in Germany introduced by the Military Government during the spring, signs of ill-health are becoming more frequent and more obvious in Germany. Famine oedema, the grim swelling of the legs and feet which comes as a result of protein starvation, has reappeared, after it had almost wholly disappeared during the course of the winter.

These results are reported by the Three-power Committee on Nutrition, appointed to make a survey of the results of the ration cuts in the British, American and French Zones. There is something pitiful about such enquiries. Do the authorities think that they can cut an already inadequate ration and escape the obvious and inevitable consequence. What the Committee found was simply what they were bound to find. One is driven to the conclusion that the three governments were really only giving facilities for nutritionists to observe an enormous and embracing experiment; an experiment in which German men, women and children were the experimental animals instead of the usual rats and pigeons. Knowing what they were going to find, one would respect these nutritionists more if they insisted on making a protest against the conditions of the experiment, of its ever being tried at all.

Rations in the three zones are now: British, 1,050 calories a day; American, 1,270; and French, 880. The survey covered Hamburg, Bremen, Hanover, Duesseldorf, Essen, Stuttgart, Kassel and Coblenz. It was found that the conditions of the civilian population has "deteriorated significantly since the ration was introduced." Small children showed signs of rickets. Adolescents showed arrested growth. Old people were in a serious state, while preg-

populated, with intact villages stripped of any

Freedom Press receives for distribution in this country several papers published by Anarchist groups or sympathetic bodies in other countries. It is extremely valuable and interesting for those of our comrades who can read foreign languages to get first-hand information of what goes on in other branches of our international movement.

In Italian we receive *L'Adunata*, a weekly published by the large and lively Italian group in Newark. We can also accept a small number of regular orders for *Volontà*, the first anarchist paper to appear in Italy after the "liberation". *Volontà* was originally a fortnightly, now it is

nant women and nursing mothers were not yet suffering extensively, but in the opinion of the Committee, malnutrition among mothers and babies is certain to result. "The present ration scale," they declare, "is resulting in a decline of physical strength, increased absenteeism, and discontent among workers generally. This will seriously retard economic recovery."

Committee Recommends Increased Ration

They recommend increasing the ration to 1,550 calories a day, but point out that such a ration is insufficient to maintain health for long. It is of course even more inadequate as a means of restoring a population whose health has been undermined by prolonged starvation. The Committee regard this rapid deterioration showing itself so soon after the ration cut as a dangerous sign which indicates that the health of the German population was already dangerous when the cut was made, and that "hence, a further deterioration may be expected to develop rapidly as the reserve strength of the German people is depleted."

Although these reports merely underline the obvious and confirm the inevitable, they have a certain value. For they give the lie to those people who take it upon themselves to declare that the Germans are a lot of twisters who are quite well fed after all. The motives of such people are usually transparent enough, but they nevertheless do a great deal of harm. They are scarcely better than murderers, for the effect of their lies, if widely believed, can only be to delay the relief of the starvation (if such relief is possible under capitalism, which is questionable). On them lies some of the responsibility for the increased deaths in Germany.

FOREIGN LIBERTARIAN PRESS

a monthly theoretical review.

In French we receive regular quantities of *Le Libertaire*, also the first of the Anarchist papers to be published after the expulsion of the Nazis from Paris. This paper has already caught on well with the French workers and is courageously fighting both the old enemies and the new—the powerful Communist element in French politics. The same group, the French Anarchist Federation, is also publishing a monthly theoretical review *Plus Loin*, some copies of which are now available here.

From America, in English, we receive two papers of interest to readers of *Freedom*. We published a few issues back, some of the resolutions passed at the recent conference of the Industrial Workers of the World. The weekly paper of this organisation, *The Industrial Worker*, has gone out of its way to attack Anarchism, mainly, it seems, because the I.W.W. advocates a rigid form of industrial unionism. Nevertheless, between the policy of the "Wobblies", as they are called, and syndicalism, the form of industrial organisation we advocate, there is not a great deal of difference. The idiom in which *The Industrial Worker* is written (American workers' slang) can amuse, educate or irritate, but if you can translate it into English you will find a militant attitude behind it.

Correspondence

State Ownership of Housing

DEAR COMRADES,

The report in the last issue of *Freedom* on Alec Craig's lecture said that State ownership of housing "could lead to a degree of inquisition quite unknown even under the old landlord system". In view of this, you may be interested to learn that the Walthamstow Borough Council have unanimously agreed to evict from a council house in Millfield Avenue, Walthamstow, a man who had been convicted for using the premises for the purpose of betting. One Councillor protested against this policy of "kicking a man when he was down", saying that the man had already been punished by a £100 fine and asking "where is he to go if you do get him out?" Nevertheless, the decision that the Town Clerk be authorised to take proceedings to recover possession of the premises was passed unanimously.

Neighbours are demonstrating their solidarity with the victim of this dictatorial action, and are organizing a petition.

Yours fraternally,
J. P.

"Peoples' Government" intends to act like all

Of perhaps greater interest to Anarchists is a small paper called *Why?* published in New York during the war and now by a group of Anarchists who started with no assets but the will to work for the movement. Facing up to and overcoming the many difficulties involved, the *Why?* group has by now firmly established itself and its paper, which carries regular theoretical articles and is wide awake to the issues of the present time. It is a little paper that deserves big support.

Another journal which began publication in New York during the war and has already earned a high reputation for itself is *Politics*. Its constructive attitude can only be described as "extreme left". Not exactly Anarchist, it nevertheless has a strong libertarian bias. Anti-war and anti-Stalinist, it deals with current problems in a highly intelligent and comprehensive manner, going deep into the social implications of modern institutions. It has an added interest for readers of *Freedom* in that it contains regularly a "London Letter" from George Woodcock.

At a later date we shall deal with other papers we receive from abroad—in Spanish and other languages—but for the time being, the above are the only ones we can supply in any number. They are available at Freedom Bookshops or by post from Freedom Press.

Prices for single copies:

L'ADUNATA	3d. (Post 1d.)
LE LIBERTAIRE	3d. (Post 1d.)
INDUSTRIAL WORKER	3d. (Post 1d.)
WHY?	3d. (Post 1d.)
PLUS LOIN	1/6d. (Post 2d.)
POLITICS	2/- (Post 2d.)

NOTICE to all interested in an Anarchist Group in Bradford, Yorks.

A meeting will be held on Tuesday, 16th July at 7.15 p.m. in the Council Chambers of the Mechanics' Institute, Town Hall Square, Bradford.

The formation of a Group in the locality will be discussed, and Harold Day will give an introductory talk on Anarchist Philosophy.

Questions and Discussion. Admission Free.

tary

N THE ARMY

were unable to get the most elementary repairs to their houses, and many other thousands were unable to get houses at all because of the building crisis.

The parade itself seems to have been calm enough. But it is encouraging to be able to report that the Military Police were hooted and booed by the crowds.

British Exports Up

From the *News Review* for May 23rd, we learn that Detective-Inspector William Whitehead who arrested Dr. Alan Nunn May, has flown to Canada on a mission. He will give the Canadians details of his investigations in Britain into the activities of a secret agent.

We think that such products of our country should be exported to the highest possible limit. Britain is noted for her very efficient Gestapo and the workers would be able to enjoy a little real freedom! Maybe Canada could send us in return something that would be of use to the community.

Shinwell and Socialism

The members of the Labour Party have always maintained that they stand for the peoples' interest, so it is enlightening to note that Mr. Shinwell, Minister of Fuel, has said a mouthful that should dispel once and for all that rather foolish idea that some individuals have of believing that they stand to benefit by Labour's rule. The *Daily Telegraph* of May 28th, reports a speech of the Minister who said, "We have got to promote a better understanding between *management and men*. They have a mutual interest and together they can eradicate the bitterness with which this (coal) industry has been surrounded for so long. *Though I do not subscribe to the doctrinaire conception of so-called 'workers' control*, I am convinced that the men with their qualifications and knowledge of the industry must play a larger part in administration, particularly as regards production. Pit production committees, based on the men, the technicians and the officials, *including the manager*, must become a permanent part of the industry."

Yet it was Shinwell, who two weeks previously, had refused in the House of Commons to withdraw a remark he had made in a week-end speech to the effect that "For a mine manager to contest a seat in the Tory interest against a Labour man in a mining constituency is a first-class piece of impudence. Mine managers are excellent men in their own department and I have the highest regard for them as technicians. When it comes to social questions they appear to know as much about them as a pig does about a piano."

Yes, it is quite alright for managers to see

that the workers are exploited to the fullest, but when it comes to sharing in the political hog-troth, then that is another matter—managers must learn their station in life!!

The Iron Heel

Very recently the workers in this country heard and read in their papers of the dramatic events which occurred in the island prison of Alcatraz, the dreaded penitentiary that has featured in many Hollywood film stories. But this was no fiction, it was stark real life.

A convict serving a sentence of twenty-five years had wrested a gun away from one of the guards and was thus able to release some of his comrades. The riot alarm was given and the released convicts opened fire on their attackers with guns that they had obtained from the prison armoury. The accounts circulated in this country read like a story of a battle. The convicts were supposed to have had machine-guns in use. According to the *Daily Telegraph* of May 4th., "the Marines had opened fire with 60-millimetre mortars. Flame-throwers and cases of T.N.T. were brought up for use if needed. Gas-masks were issued to the besiegers."

The seige held out for three days and when at last the convicts were overwhelmed by sheer numbers, it was found that "they had one rifle, one revolver and 71 rounds of ammunition, and that only 15 men had taken part in the revolt. They had held off 132 marines and guards with light and heavy machine-guns, rifles, pistols and grenade-throwing rifles, dynamite patch charges and smoke bombs, not to mention several mortars." (*Daily Telegraph*, May 6th).

On Easter Sunday came news of a mutiny at the San Vittore prison in Italy where a similar pitched battle took place between the imprisoned men and the authorities. Sentences up to 30 years penal servitude have subsequently been passed on the "leaders" of the four-day revolt by a Milan court.

Such savage reprisals against helpless men indicate very clearly the very real fears that the ruling classes all over the world have when any attempt is made by the downtrodden people who rise in revolt against the inhuman conditions under which they are forced to live. Any one who read Jack London's *Iron Heel* will know of his accounts there of the ruthless efforts that were made by the ruling classes to crush out rebellion and it seems that his prophetic story is becoming reality.

While a small minority in society hold power over the rest of mankind, we must expect to hear more of this kind of thing, as the masses steadily begin to fight back against the world tyranny that is being evolved out of the ruins of the war. When men and women lift up their heads and hands to fight for Liberty, that is an unforgivable sin in the eyes of rulers and the most brutal measures will be launched against the common people in an effort to maintain the power that is wielded in the interests of the few.

The Capitalist Stewpot

With the world-wide famine ever-present in the news, and every effort *apparently* being made to organise food supplies to the best advantage, it is incredible that such a state of affairs as described below should be in existence. It is taken from the *Observer* for May 26, in "Peregrine's Notebook": "What an uncanny register of follies the life of Europe presents to-day! The student of social pathology could easily fill volumes with it. He would not have to exert himself to prove that one year after the surrender, the world shows an ominous resemblance to a lunatic asylum, the inmates of which suffer from a fatal loss of the instinct of self-preservation. Here are only a few illustrations of the diseased condition of international society, picked at random from the events and reports of one week. Famine stalks the Continent. UNRRA is running out of supplies. Official delegations knock at the doors of the Combined Food Board in Washington with desperate requests for food. Heads of states exchange letters, asking one another what their countries can do to relieve the plight of many nations. Rations are cut; and infant mortality has risen steeply in Europe.

At the same time, some European countries are anxious to get rid of their own surpluses of food; and they are unable to find buyers. Danish producers of meat and bacon worry because their goods are *unsaleable*. Stocks of bacon have to be put into cold storage. Farmers have been warned not to slaughter cattle, because Denmark is now afflicted with a *glut* of meat. The catch of fish in Danish waters has been cut to one tenth of normal. Swedish fish-merchants, too, do not know what to do with this year's catch. They offered to sell it to the starving countries of Europe at half the market price. Since the offer has not been accepted, they have decided to throw about two-thirds of the catch back into the sea. The northern seas have yielded a fabulously rich catch this year, but Nature and the Danish and Swedish fishermen *have not betimes taken into account the fact that the balances of payment of the starving countries come first and their starving populations only next.*" (Our italics).

Here is capitalist benevolence portrayed in its real light! Here is the cold factual admission by a staunch upholder of the present system that money-making comes before saving lives! All the protestations of "We are doing all we can", are revealed as so much hypocritical cant which food officials of all countries utter so that the public may be led into believing that no effort is being spared to alleviate the suffering masses.

From a Danish contact, we learn that Danish butter is being shipped to Harwich, where it changes hands financially, and is then shipped back to the Continent. And they say that

its predecessors. The maintenance of the capitalist mode of production is the keystone of its policy, and nationalisation is the way in which it intends to maintain a stranglehold over the economy of the country, just as Mussolini and Hitler did in Italy and Germany, all in the name of Socialism and the People.

As long as the Government or any other section of the community controls the means of life, then it will control our very lives. It can decide in a calculated and brutal manner just how many shall live, and how many shall die by inches in the slums and the devastated areas of the world. No social justice, no economic security, no real help to the hungry millions, can be achieved until the means of life—the food, clothing, houses, transport, communications, etc.—are organised by the great army of workers *who actually do the job to-day under capitalism*. Food relief is being used as a political weapon to crush potential revolution; national economy is being used to enslave the workers still further under the profit system of production. The working class must smash all attempts of the various governments of the world to maintain control by starvation methods. Then, and only then, can we go forward to the new way of life—to ANARCHISM. T.W.B.

FREEDOM PRESS

Penny Pamphlets

The summer is always the best time for the distribution of Freedom Press literature. Most towns have places where open-air meetings are held and where socially or politically conscious workers can be contacted. We have a range of four pamphlets to sell at a penny, dealing with four very important aspects of Anarchism to help the Anarchist propagandist.

The first is a general statement of Anarchist ideas. "What is Anarchism?" by George Woodcock was first published in "War Commentary" and was reprinted as a pamphlet at the time of the trial of the four Anarchists last year. The edition sold out very quickly then, and we now have a new edition ready for distribution. This short pamphlet contains the best brief summing-up of Anarchism we know and is an ideal introduction to whet the appetites of interested persons to read fuller expositions such as "A.B.C. of Anarchism" or "Anarchy as a System".

The members of the Labour Party have always maintained that they stand for the peoples' interest, so it is enlightening to note that Mr. Shinwell, Minister of Fuel, has said a mouthful that should dispel once and for all that rather foolish idea that some individuals have of believing that they stand to benefit by Labour's rule. The *Daily Telegraph* of May 28th, reports a speech of the Minister who said, "We have got to promote a better understanding between *management and men*. They have a mutual interest and together they can eradicate the bitterness with which this (coal) industry has been surrounded for so long. *Though I do not subscribe to the doctrinaire conception of so-called 'workers' control*, I am convinced that the men with their qualifications and knowledge of the industry must play a larger part in administration, particularly as regards production. Pit production committees, based on the men, the technicians and the officials, *including the manager*, must become a permanent part of the industry."

Yet it was Shinwell, who two weeks previously, had refused in the House of Commons to withdraw a remark he had made in a week-end speech to the effect that "For a mine manager to contest a seat in the Tory interest against a Labour man in a mining constituency is a first-class piece of impudence. Mine managers are excellent men in their own department and I have the highest regard for them as technicians. When it comes to social questions they appear to know as much about them as a pig does about a piano."

Yes, it is quite alright for managers to see

one revolver and 71 rounds of ammunition, and that only 15 men had taken part in the revolt. They had held off 132 marines and guards with light and heavy machine-guns, rifles, pistols and grenade-throwing rifles, dynamite patch charges and smoke bombs, not to mention several mortars." (*Daily Telegraph*, May 6th).

On Easter Sunday came news of a mutiny at the San Vittore prison in Italy where a similar pitched battle took place between the imprisoned men and the authorities. Sentences up to 30 years penal servitude have subsequently been passed on the "leaders" of the four-day revolt by a Milan court.

Such savage reprisals against helpless men indicate very clearly the very real fears that the ruling classes all over the world have when any attempt is made by the downtrodden people who rise in revolt against the inhuman conditions under which they are forced to live. Any one who read Jack London's *Iron Heel* will know of his accounts there of the ruthless efforts that were made by the ruling classes to crush out rebellion and it seems that his prophetic story is becoming reality.

While a small minority in society hold power over the rest of mankind, we must expect to hear more of this kind of thing, as the masses steadily begin to fight back against the world tyranny that is being evolved out of the ruins of the war. When men and women lift up their heads and hands to fight for Liberty, that is an unforgivable sin in the eyes of rulers and the most brutal measures will be launched against the common people in an effort to maintain the power that is wielded in the interests of the few.

At the same time, some European countries are anxious to get rid of their own surpluses of food; and they are unable to find buyers. Danish producers of meat and bacon worry because their goods are *unsaleable*. Stocks of bacon have to be put into cold storage. Farmers have been warned not to slaughter cattle, because Denmark is now afflicted with a *glut* of meat. The catch of fish in Danish waters has been cut to one tenth of normal. Swedish fish-merchants, too, do not know what to do with this year's catch. They offered to sell it to the starving countries of Europe at half the market price. Since the offer has not been accepted, they have decided to throw about two-thirds of the catch back into the sea. The northern seas have yielded a fabulously rich catch this year, but Nature and the Danish and Swedish fishermen *have not betimes taken into account the fact that the balances of payment of the starving countries come first and their starving populations only next.*" (Our italics).

Here is capitalist benevolence portrayed in its real light! Here is the cold factual admission by a staunch upholder of the present system that money-making comes before saving lives! All the protestations of "We are doing all we can", are revealed as so much hypocritical cant which food officials of all countries utter so that the public may be led into believing that no effort is being spared to alleviate the suffering masses.

From a Danish contact, we learn that Danish butter is being shipped to Harwich, where it changes hands financially, and is then shipped back to the Continent. And they say that anarchy means chaos!

On May 27th, the *Daily Telegraph* carried the now familiar headline "Fish dumped into the sea", and under it "Only one-third of the herring fleet will be allowed to put to sea to-day because the catches landed during the past week have been greater than can be dealt with on shore. Large quantities have been dumped into the sea. Herrings being landed at North Shields are being made into low-grade cattle food and guano. The industry blames slow rail transport and bad distribution arrangements for the situation."

Miracles of organisation and supply could be achieved during a war when killing was the order of the day, but when it comes to the humanitarian purpose of saving life, *that* seems to be impossible. It was Aneurin Bevan, who said, before the General Election, "Great Britain is practically made of coal, and entirely surrounded by fish, and it takes a Tory administration to produce an acute shortage of both at the same time". But the Labour Government has been in power now for 10 months and the results still seem to be the same—muddle and waste. Daily, it becomes clearer that the "Peoples' Government" intends to act like all

control by starvation methods. Then, and only then, can we go forward to the new way of life—to ANARCHISM. T.W.B.

FREEDOM PRESS Penny Pamphlets

The summer is always the best time for the distribution of Freedom Press literature. Most towns have places where open-air meetings are held and where socially or politically conscious workers can be contacted. We have a range of four pamphlets to sell at a penny, dealing with four very important aspects of Anarchism to help the Anarchist propagandist.

The first is a general statement of Anarchist ideas. "What is Anarchism?" by George Woodcock was first published in "War Commentary" and was reprinted as a pamphlet at the time of the trial of the four Anarchists last year. The edition sold out very quickly then, and we now have a new edition ready for distribution. This short pamphlet contains the best brief summing-up of Anarchism we know and is an ideal introduction to whet the appetites of interested persons to read fuller expositions such as "A.B.C. of Anarchism" or "Anarchy or Chaos".

The second is of extreme importance whenever the question of the practical achievements of Anarchism crops up—and it very often does! "Collectives in Spain" by Gaston Leval gives an excellent short outline of the way in which agriculture and other industries were taken over and collectivised by the Spanish workers during the revolution. It is a complete answer to the statement that "Anarchism won't work". It shows that it will!

The third is a selection from William Godwin's writing "On Law". Godwin was one of the first exponents of Anarchism in this country and deserves to be far better known than in fact he is. His attacks on the system of law and the true nature of it are invaluable to Anarchists to-day.

"Vote—What For" by Errico Malatesta is a pamphlet which takes the form of a dialogue between two workers on the question of the value of voting and of sending representatives to Parliament. Writing in simple conversational style, Malatesta must be forgiven for making the anti-parliamentarian win the argument so easily!

AND—NOW AVAILABLE!

Many readers have asked if the "Aims and Principles of the Union Of Anarchist Groups" were going to be printed in pamphlet form. We are very pleased to announce that an attractive folder has now been produced in ideal form for introducing these aims and principles to new contacts. Since it was first printed in "Freedom" last December this concise statement has been published or quoted in various other

“DISPLACED PERSONS” from Poland and East Russia

They Hope To Return

For such displaced persons—displaced, be it remembered, not by the Nazis, but by the Potsdam Allies—for them, such re-settlement is no sort of home provision. None of them can bring themselves to believe that the separation from their houses and their home districts will be permanent. They all dream of a return "one day". These hopes are supported, according to the *Observer's* correspondent, "by the claim that the Poles (or, in East Prussia, the Russians) are not actually taking over the evacuated lands, but leaving them empty: an allegation which, so far as East Prussia is concerned, was partly confirmed to me by Swedish Red Cross officials in Stockholm. According to them, large stretches of East Prussia are at present unpopulated, with intact villages stripped of any

human population, and miles and miles of fertile land untilled." And he goes on to comment: "It is, of course, a tragic and hardly foreseen consequence of the Potsdam decisions that one of Europe's most important grain-belts is thus being put out of production just at a time of stringent world shortage." Believers in governments and Potsdam conferences may "hardly foresee" such results; but to Anarchists they are only a repetition of the age-long suffering which the workers of the world endure from the mistakes and indifference of their governments. For us, in England, it is not possible to let our minds dwell for long on these miseries of the continental refugees, they are too painful. But to the extent that we tolerate and even justify the acts and existence of our government (whether Tory or Labour) we share in the responsibility for such misery.

a monthly theoretical review.

In French we receive regular quantities of *Le Libertaire*, also the first of the Anarchist papers to be published after the expulsion of the Nazis from Paris. This paper has already caught on

FOREIGN LIBERTARIAN PRESS

Freedom Press receives for distribution in this country several papers published by Anarchist groups or sympathetic bodies in other countries. It is extremely valuable and interesting for those of our comrades who can read foreign languages

Of perhaps greater interest to Anarchists is a small paper called *Why?* published in New York during the war and now by a group of Anarchists who started with no assets but the will to work for the movement. Facing up to and

FOREIGN LIBERTARIAN PRESS

Freedom Press receives for distribution in this country several papers published by Anarchist groups or sympathetic bodies in other countries. It is extremely valuable and interesting for those of our comrades who can read foreign languages to get first-hand information of what goes on in other branches of our international movement.

In Italian we receive *L'Adunata*, a weekly published by the large and lively Italian group in Newark. We can also accept a small number of regular orders for *Volontà*, the first anarchist paper to appear in Italy after the "liberation". *Volontà* was originally a fortnightly, now it is

n Germany Committee's Report

nant women and nursing mothers were not yet suffering extensively, but in the opinion of the Committee, malnutrition among mothers and babies is certain to result. "The present ration scale," they declare, "is resulting in a decline of physical strength, increased absenteeism, and discontent among workers generally. This will seriously retard economic recovery."

Committee Recommends Increased Ration

They recommend increasing the ration to 1,550 calories a day, but point out that such a ration is insufficient to maintain health for long. It is of course even more inadequate as a means of restoring a population whose health has been undermined by prolonged starvation. The Committee regard this rapid deterioration showing itself so soon after the ration cut as a dangerous sign which indicates that the health of the German population was already dangerous when the cut was made, and that "hence, a further deterioration may be expected to develop rapidly as the reserve strength of the German people is depleted."

Although these reports merely underline the obvious and confirm the inevitable, they have a certain value. For they give the lie to those people who take it upon themselves to declare that the Germans are a lot of twisters who are quite well fed after all. The motives of such people are usually transparent enough, but they nevertheless do a great deal of harm. They are scarcely better than murderers, for the effect of their lies, if widely believed, can only be to delay the relief of the starvation (if such relief is possible under capitalism, which is questionable). On them lies some of the responsibility for the increased deaths in Germany.

a monthly theoretical review.

In French we receive regular quantities of *Le Libertaire*, also the first of the Anarchist papers to be published after the expulsion of the Nazis from Paris. This paper has already caught on well with the French workers and is courageously fighting both the old enemies and the new—the powerful Communist element in French politics. The same group, the French Anarchist Federation, is also publishing a monthly theoretical review *Plus Loin*, some copies of which are now available here.

From America, in English, we receive two papers of interest to readers of *Freedom*. We published a few issues back, some of the resolutions passed at the recent conference of the Industrial Workers of the World. The weekly paper of this organisation, *The Industrial Worker*, has gone out of its way to attack Anarchism, mainly, it seems, because the I.W.W. advocates a rigid form of industrial unionism. Nevertheless, between the policy of the "Wobblies", as they are called, and syndicalism, the form of industrial organisation we advocate, there is not a great deal of difference. The idiom in which *The Industrial Worker* is written (American workers' slang) can amuse, educate or irritate, but if you can translate it into English you will find a militant attitude behind it.

Correspondence

State Ownership of Housing

DEAR COMRADES,

The report in the last issue of *Freedom* on Alec Craig's lecture said that State ownership of housing "could lead to a degree of inquisition quite unknown even under the old landlord system". In view of this, you may be interested to learn that the Walthamstow Borough Council have unanimously agreed to evict from a council house in Millfield Avenue, Walthamstow, a man who had been convicted for using the premises for the purpose of betting. One Councillor protested against this policy of "kicking a man when he was down", saying that the man had already been punished by a £100 fine and asking "where is he to go if you do get him out?" Nevertheless, the decision that the Town Clerk be authorised to take proceedings to recover possession of the premises was passed unanimously.

Neighbours are demonstrating their solidarity with the victim of this dictatorial action, and are organizing a petition.

Yours fraternally,
J. P.

Of perhaps greater interest to Anarchists is a small paper called *Why?* published in New York during the war and now by a group of Anarchists who started with no assets but the will to work for the movement. Facing up to and overcoming the many difficulties involved, the *Why?* group has by now firmly established itself and its paper, which carries regular theoretical articles and is wide awake to the issues of the present time. It is a little paper that deserves big support.

Another journal which began publication in New York during the war and has already earned a high reputation for itself is *Politics*. Its constructive attitude can only be described as "extreme left". Not exactly Anarchist, it nevertheless has a strong libertarian bias. Anti-war and anti-Stalinist, it deals with current problems in a highly intelligent and comprehensive manner, going deep into the social implications of modern institutions. It has an added interest for readers of *Freedom* in that it contains regularly a "London Letter" from George Woodcock.

At a later date we shall deal with other papers we receive from abroad—in Spanish and other languages—but for the time being, the above are the only ones we can supply in any number. They are available at Freedom Bookshops or by post from Freedom Press.

Prices for single copies:

L'ADUNATA		3d. (Post 1d.)
LE LIBERTAIRE		3d. (Post 1d.)
INDUSTRIAL WORKER		3d. (Post 1d.)
WHY?		3d. (Post 1d.)
PLUS LOIN		1/6d. (Post 2d.)
POLITICS		2/- (Post 2d.)

NOTICE to all interested in an Anarchist Group in Bradford, Yorks.

A meeting will be held on Tuesday, 16th July at 7.15 p.m. in the Council Chambers of the Mechanics' Institute, Town Hall Square, Bradford.

The formation of a Group in the locality will be discussed, and Harold Day will give an introductory talk on Anarchist Philosophy.

Questions and
Discussion.

Admission
Free.

AND—NOW AVAILABLE!

Many readers have asked if the "Aims and Principles of the Union Of Anarchist Groups" were going to be printed in pamphlet form. We are very pleased to announce that an attractive folder has now been produced in ideal form for introducing these aims and principles to new contacts. Since it was first printed in "Freedom" last December this concise statement has been published or quoted in various other countries.

We want local groups and individuals to give this folder wide publicity and so that they may benefit from its distribution arrangements have been made whereby any local address may be printed on it for contact in that particular area. Special rates are being offered for quantities, and any group or individual ordering over 500 copies may have their local address printed instead of or as well as the London address. Please let us know as soon as possible how many you will want and what address if any you can use. The special rates for distribution will ensure that although the folder nominally sells at 1d., a proportion can be given away without financial loss to the distributor. They are as follows:

Single copies 1d. (post 1d.)
100 copies 5/- (post free)
500 copies 20/- (post free)
1000 copies 30/- (post free)

THESE RATES APPLY TO ALL THE PENNY PAMPHLETS MENTIONED ABOVE.

We hope as many readers as possible will take advantage of this offer aimed at assisting the spreading of Anarchist ideas in YOUR district.

Write to: FREEDOM PRESS,
27, Red Lion Street,
London, W.C.1.

FORTNIGHTLY 2d.

"FREEDOM"

Formerly: WAR COMMENTARY.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

6 Months, 3/- (U.S.A. 60c.) post free
12 Months, 6/-, (U.S.A. \$1) post free

Please make all cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders payable to Freedom Press and crossed a/c Payee and address them to:

FREEDOM PRESS,
27 RED LION STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1.